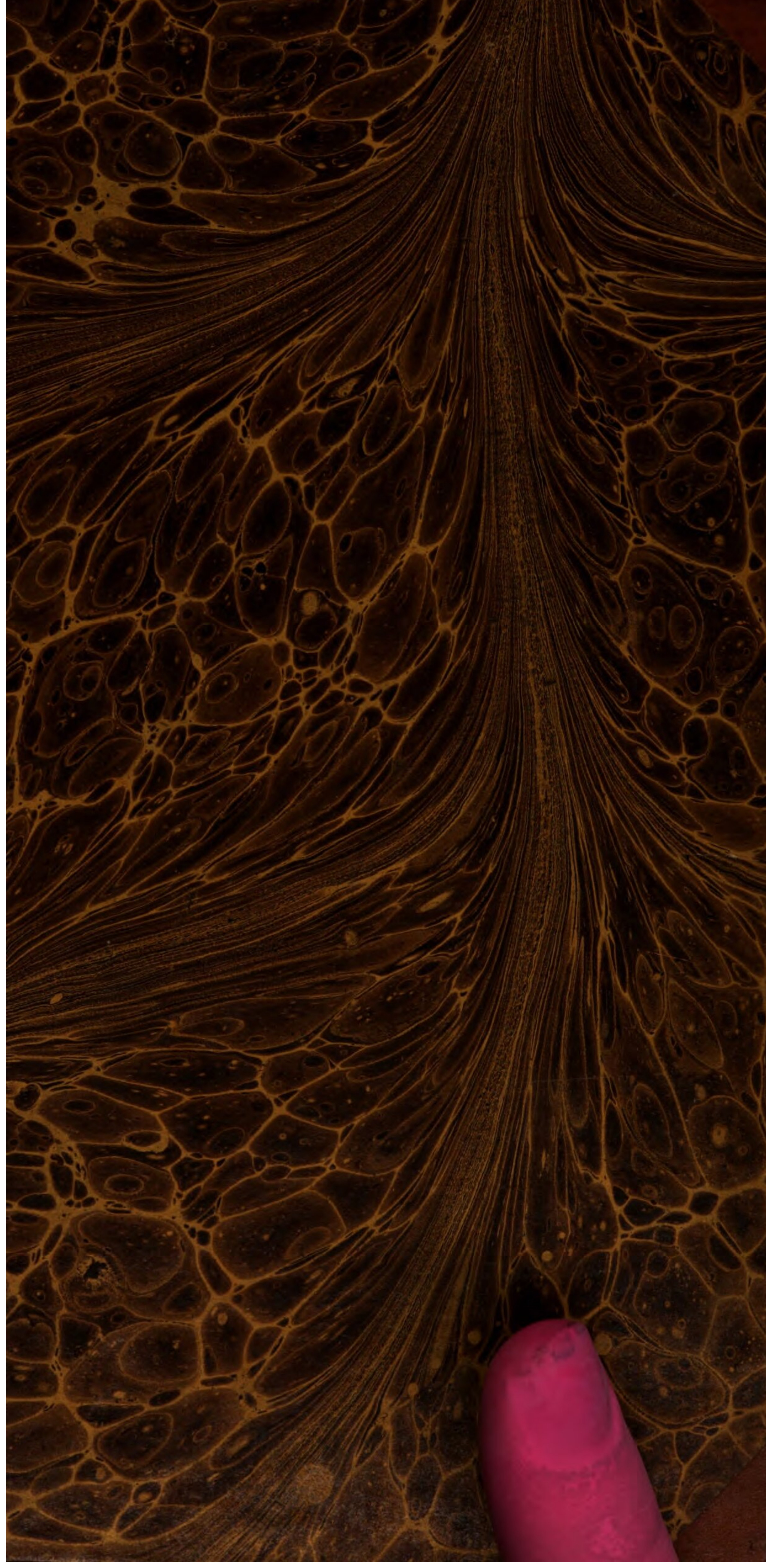


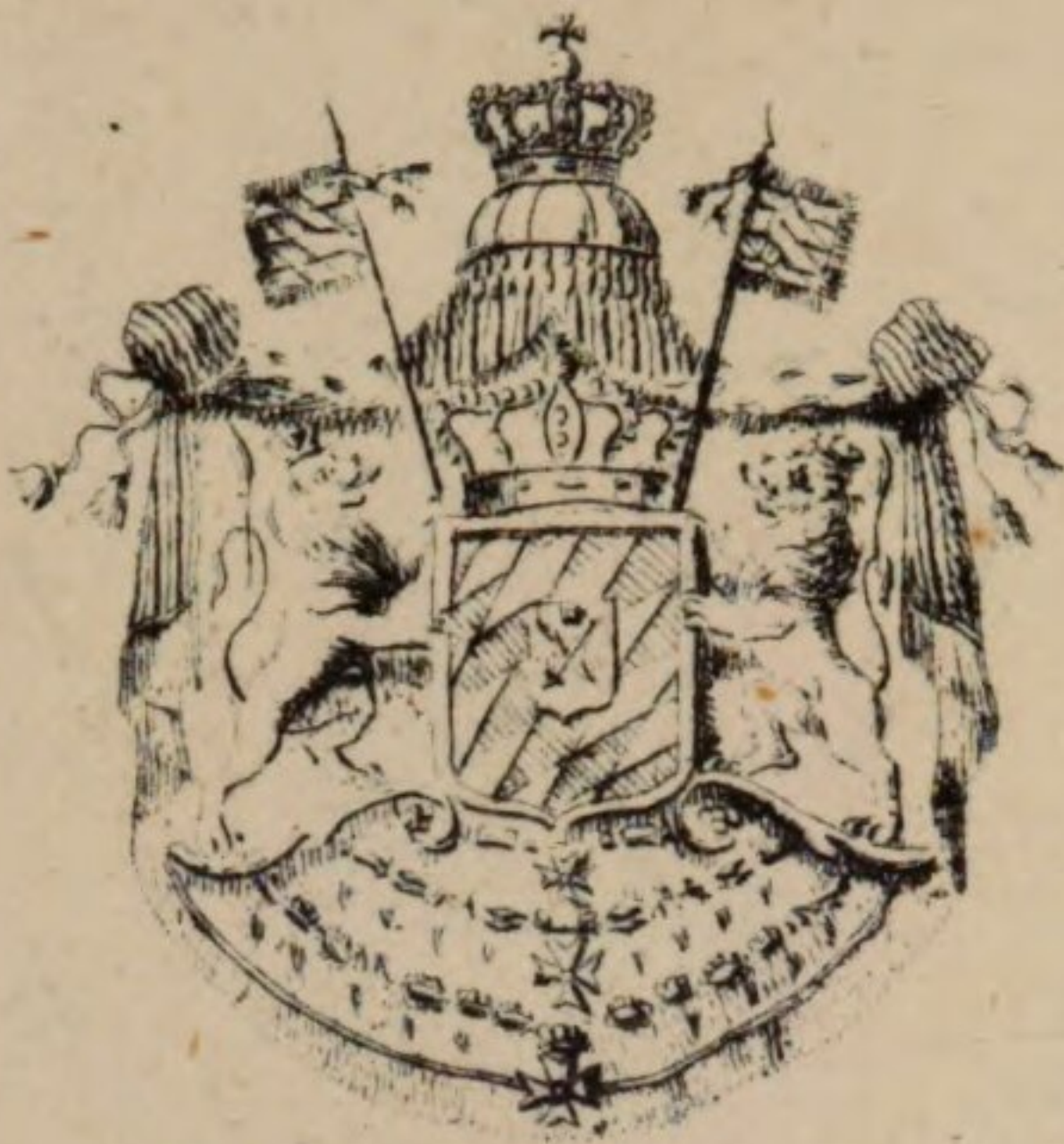


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MEMOIRS

OF

GREGORIO PANZANI.

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MEMOIRS

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GREGORIO PANZANI.

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REMARKS

ON A BOOK ENTITLED

MEMOIRS

OF

GREGORIO PANZANI.

By the Rev. CHARLES PLOWDEN.

P R E C E D E D

BY AN ADDRESS

To the Rev. JOSEPH BERINGTON.

*Nascenti cui tres animas Feronia mater
Horrendum dictu, dederat, terna arma movenda,
Ter letho sternendus erat; cui nunc tamen omnes
Abstulit hæc animas dextra, & totidem exuit armis.*

8. Æn



L I E G E.

1 7 9 4.

Sold by J. P. COGHLAN, Duke Street Grosvenor-
Square London.

g b. D.

REMARKS

ON A BOOK ENTITLED

MEMOIRS

OF

GREGORIO PANZANI.

By the Rev. Charles Plowden.

REVISED

BY AN ADDRESS

To the Rev. Joseph Brington.

Naſcenti cuius animas Perona mater
Horrendum diſtu, debet, terra arma monenda,
Terreſtris ſtans eras; cui nunc tamē omnes
Affluat hæc animas dextra, & totidem exiit armis.
8. Fe



L. E. G. E.

1794

Sold by J. P. Gough, Duke Street, Gt. George Street, London.

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TO THE READER.

IT is well known, that the modern pretended reformers of the faith and discipline of the church have considered the corruption of ecclesiastical history as one of the most easy means to propagate error. History is willingly read; but not every reader is able to distinguish the misrepresentations, to refute the falsehoods, or to supply the omissions of an artful or a malicious writer. The best way to refute a bad history is to write a good one. The history of the English catholic church, since the accession of Queen Elisabeth, executed with fidelity and judgment, would form an interesting narration. Since Mr. Berington began in the year 1780 to corrupt it, I have often wished that some

writer of abilities and sound principles
 would undertake such a work. His late
 attempt to disfigure it in every feature
 may perhaps excite the zeal of some per-
 son of our communion, whom continual
 occupations do not hinder from going to
 the true sources of information, and espe-
 cially from examining the variety of MSS,
 which yet exist in our colleges abroad,
 and in private families at home. If I could
 command the time and the materials ne-
 cessary for such a work, I should still feel
 myself unequal to the undertaking. But
 though I cannot write the history of En-
 glish catholics, a very small degree of
 knowledge suffices to demonstrate, that
 Mr. Berington has written one, which is
 utterly false. Since it appeared in the
 course of the last summer, under the strange
 title of *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, I
 have been necessitated to make long jour-
 nies, and this circumstance, besides many
 other interruptions and disappointments,
 may apologize for the tardy appearance
 of the following *Remarks*.

My friends assured me that I owed them to the catholic public; and that since Mr. Berington had utterly shrunk from the former controversy, to which he had provoked me, it would be dishonourable in me to suffer him to cry victory on new ground, where he probably flatters himself that I cannot reach him. Silence on my part might be construed into weakness; and I consider, that though my *Remarks* will not win over Mr. Berington to the side of truth, they may prevent many from being seduced by him to the side of falsehood. There is truth in the maxim, *Error, cui non resistitur, approbatur; & veritas, cum minime defensatur, opprimitur.....* *Nec caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare.* Gratian. c. *Error.* 3. Dist. 83. To oppose Mr. Beringtons *manifest* endeavours to corrupt our history, to overturn our ecclesiastical government, and to form a party against our Bishops, will be a deed of some merit in the estimation of those, who respect their ancestors and revere their religion;

and I cannot discern the advantage of imprisoning truth in compliment to those, who always recommend silence and forbearance the most earnestly, when the known enemies of truth are carrying on the forest hostilities against it.

In the following *Remarks*, I mean to notice only some of the most prominent misrepresentations of the author, because this will suffice to discredit the rest, and I am not now writing a history. Some slight sketches of the true story will be found, and they will be drawn principally from ancient and authentic MSS, of which I have by me a greater number, than I have been able to peruse. I have sometimes had a thought of producing several of them before the public, and I may perhaps pursue this thought, if the small sample, which this work contains, should procure me sufficient encouragement, to meet the labour and the expence of the publication.

In

In a story so full of edification, as is the history of our British catholics, I am sorry that Mr. Berington has compelled me to speak more of the faults, than of the virtues of our predecessors. But I presume that no scandal can arise, at the present day, from an acknowledgment, that our little church, like every other, has been sometimes agitated by the passions of a few troublesome adventurers in theology : and I do not conceive it possible, that the mention of their faults can now renew the jealousies or disputes, which in their time they occasioned. The facts, which I shall relate, are too remote to affect the present clergy and laity of our communion otherwise, than as the true history of a past age always affects the present, by conveying an useful lesson; and this lesson may be the more serviceable in the present time, when Mr. Berington is exerting himself to form a division in the priesthood, and has even succeeded so far, as to find twelve priests, who will not disavow him. The unanimity of the rest of the venera-

ble body, whether secular or regular, their steady adherence to their Bishops and to orthodox doctrine, the abhorrence which they express of Mr. Beringtons novelties, afford a comforting presumption, that he will be unable to increase his party; and I shall be well rewarded for my trouble, if these sheets shall tend to diminish it. If the Gentlemen, who have assumed the distinctive title of *Staffordshire Clergy*, will honour them with a perusal, they may perhaps discover some motives to blush at their condescendence, in accepting the dedication of Mr. Beringtons late work: and if they will not yet relinquish the opposition to episcopal authority, into which Mr. Berington has betrayed them; certainly their own credit will engage them to select for their chief, a sounder theologian, a more consistent logician, a more loyal subject, and a better writer. If they or others should think, that the language in which I address their present leader, is sometimes rather significative; I will only desire them to remember, besides the mo-

tives which will appear in my *Address*,
that I am writing an *answer*, and they may
apply to it the well known lines of the
poet,

*Si quis est, qui dictum in se inclementius
Existimarit esse, sic existimet
Responsum, non dictum esse, quia læsit prius.*

Ter. Eun. Prol.

ERRATA.

P. 11. L. 15. For leave Read to leave
13. — 24. — Thomas — James
48. — 18. — to carried — to be carried
52 — 14. — exercice — exercise
55. — 23. dele garish
126. — 17. — N^o. III. — Nos. III. and IV.
136. — 15. — duabted — doubted
151. — 27. 28. Nos. V. VI. — Nos. VIII. IX.
157. — 17. — first — first



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AN ADDRESS
TO THE REVEREND
JOSEPH BERINGTON.

S I R,



I CANNOT prevail upon myself to take you for my model in the writing of addreses. When you judge proper to complain of the conduct of a Bishop, you address the public, who probably concern themselves very little, either with your addreses or with your complaints. (a) Having some reason to be

(a) See the address of Mr. Berington and C^o. to the catholic clergy of England, Jan. 26. 1792. It was soon after reprinted in 4^o. with a blue cover, by a few of his officious friends, and distributed through almost every catholic house in great Britain.

dissatisfied with one of your late publications, entitled *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, I think it more becoming, more fair and more honourable to address myself directly to you, and to deliver to you, without disguise, my opinion of your principles, your doctrines and your conduct. The public, if it will, may inspect our controversy; and if it should ever think proper to award a judgment upon it, that judgment will not be contested by me.

Soon as I obtained a sight of *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, I read the book, because it was yours, but with little curiosity, and with less emotion. I could not reasonably expect any gratification for the former on a subject, which you had already treated with the most superficial levity; (*) and the reading, which I bestowed last year on some of your other works, had rendered me callous to the impressions of falsehood and wilful misrepresentation. These things darting suddenly upon the unexpected mind might awaken feelings of honest indignation; but being here foreseen and expected in your new

(*) See *State and Behaviour of English Catholics*, by Mr. Berington, 1780.

work, they found every avenue of my heart closed and fastened, except that, which leads to the seat of nausea and disgust. I had no sooner gone through the preface, than I could almost have told the book by heart. I knew it would be a rant against Popes, who had befriended you, against Jesuits, who had never injured you, and against British catholics of the past and present times, who, because they are catholics, must detest your principles and disavow your doctrines. You had insulted these your brethren in your pretended account of their state and behaviour in 1780; you had been punished for it; (*) and I suspected that you had some deeper design, than merely to gratify malignity in the repetition of antiquated scandal. To discover this design I read on, and it appeared beyond the possibility of mistake. The snake indeed was hidden beneath deep folds of dirt, and I was amazed that one man could have submitted to the drudgery of raking so much together. Indeed I was equally astonished at the folly and the malevolence of the writer. What a depraved taste must that man have,

(*) See *Remarks on the Writings of the R. Joseph Beringson*. Coghlan. 1792.

I said, who can feed upon the accumulated scandal of two hundred years, and then disgorge it abroad, in hopes that the public will swallow such filthy food ! Strange, Mr. Berington, that in so long a course of time, you could find no seasoning of virtue, to diversify the odious repast ! You have ransacked the history of your sacerdotal brethren during two bright centuries of their existence, in order to discover the interpositions of darkness, which history or tradition has preserved, as foils to the blaze of virtues, which otherwise might have been thought incredible ; you have exerted all your sagacity to obliterate that fair fame of your predecessors, which stigmatizes your own degeneracy. With equal rage you devour your cotemporaries ; nothing can cloy your voracity. After long mangling the carcases of dead Jesuits, you tie them up to living Bishops, priests and monks ; it is the cruelty of Mezentius,

*Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Tormenti genus !*

8. Æn.

And what have you proved ? If every assertion in your tale were irrefragably true, it would at most follow, that formerly there

was a diversity of opinions among men embarked in a common cause, that our predecessors, two hundred years ago, were frail men as we now are. It were certainly more agreeable to forget, than to recount their weaknesses; it is better to hide than to uncover the nakedness of our fathers. Your brethren of the catholic clergy have looked into the history of their predecessors as well as you, and every man among them has been edified with an uninterrupted succession of the brightest virtues, shining in the midst of the severest trials; each one can repeat venerated names, which have dignified his respective college, from Cardinal Allen to Bishop Douglass, from father Parsons to the R. Mr. More. If the bright series of virtues has been sometimes soiled with the alloy of human weakness; if suspicious jealousies have, in some instances, engendered complaints and recriminations among individuals, or even entire bodies; they may easily be derived from a too keen feeling of that natural partiality, which attaches individuals to their own society, and which always compensates, by a thousand advantages, the transitory diminution of good, which it sometimes occasions. What wonder, Sir, that even virtuous men do not always

discern the line, which discriminates laudable emulation from oblique jealousy? The confounding of these nicely marked borders is apt to occasion very incorrect decisions: every thing appears irregular and distorted, we fancy our rights invaded, we conceive resistance to be a duty, and, in the hurry of mistaken zeal, we see a foe in every temperate friend. The annals of private societies, as well as the histories of nations, must have exemplified this truth to every attentive reader, and I should conceive it to be the duty of the historian, when he takes his retrospective view of past transactions, to replace all objects in their proper site, to ascertain their true colours, distances and relations, to preserve the true lights, the true shades of the picture. How differently Sir, do you paint! I observed to you last year, (*) that instead of portraits, you for ever give us caricatures. If the persons whom you attempt to draw or to dawb (and dawbing is your delight) have been, (unluckily for them while under your brush) either Popes, or Bishops, or Jesuits; from that instant your reason, or rather your ocular nerves are in a flurry; your eyesight is

(*) *Remarks on, &c.* p. 65.

disordered, you see horns budding from their foreheads, their feet cleave in two, and when we pay you our 6^s. and 6^d. for your picture, we have purchased monsters,

Gorgons and Harpies and chimeras dire.

In the present instance, hardly a feature of the original is preserved. In its true form, it would exhibit a delightful picture; and the few crooked lines, which might offend the eye that seeks for absolute perfection, the few specks, which must stick to the virtues of mortals, would almost disappear in the bright colours which surround them. But it seems that your mission is not to level inequalities, to *make strait the crooked paths*; on the contrary you extend them from the region of error into that of absolute falsehood: instead of palliating faults, you magnify them into crimes; you disfigure goodness with the garb of vice; you vitiate every intention, you blast, you wither every virtue. Whoever should take your description of our missionary priests for the truth, must certainly conclude, that, with the exception of a few, they have been, and still are, a brood of contemptible and vicious miscreants. Fortunately for their credit, whoever has only a tincture of the history of those extraordinary men, who have

continued among us above two centuries; under the pressure of penal laws, the discouragements of poverty, and the privation of the advantages of society, must certainly believe, that they have been actuated by some principle of generous virtue, that they have been connected by some bond of goodness, that they have not been uniformly bigots, wranglers, fools and slaves. In a word, the extravagance of folly and vice, which you impute to them, must awaken suspicions favorable even to Jesuits; it must render your story improbable to the uninformed; and persons, who are conversant in the matter and respect the catholic religion, will continue to express that disgust of your performance, which has been already testified by almost every individual, who has had the misfortune to read it.

It is not my present business to rectify all your mistakes, or to write the history of English catholics, which you have so woefully disfigured. The former task has been lately, in great measure, executed with success by a dreaded adversary, (*) to whom you

(*) See *Ecclesiastical Democracy detected*, by the R. Mr. Milner, F. A. S.

have

have replied, only with awkward attempts at mis-shapen wit and with wanton insult. The latter part has been repeatedly performed by writers of merit, from whom the anticipated refutation of your principal mis-statements might easily be gathered: but I should wander from my present purpose by copying their documents, which are at hand; and it would be weakness in me to run into the snare, which you have spread for me, but which you had not the art to disguise. In controversy as well as in real war, I know that stratagem is often employed to draw an enemy from an advantageous post, from which force cannot dislodge him; and an ardent foe may sometimes be inveigled to fall forth against a false attack, which is intended only to decoy him from his ground, and to screen the too real weakness of the crafty aggressor. In your present situation, your character, your religion, the credit of the catholic church and of the catholic clergy, to both which you yet belong, required from you, either an explicit revocation of the false tenets in religion and policy, with which I have charged you, or else an equally clear refutation of those charges, with a demonstration that they are wrongfully imputed. Nothing less than one

part of this alternative can cover you from the just indignation of the protestant and catholic public ; and no individual would feel more sincere comfort than I, to see you walking with candour in one of these paths, to which I flattered myself that I had confined you. But, instead of this, you run off in a diverging line ; you are, in a minute, at the distance of two hundred years from me, and you cry out, that the Popes and Jesuits of that period were knaves and rogues, in full expectation that I shall run after you, to hinder you from defiling them with the dirt, which you have collected for this purpose. The subject which I have in hand will afford me incidental opportunities to wipe off a part of it ; but in the present moment I should perhaps befriend your tottering cause, if abandoning you, I should burnish up all my weapons, and proclaim myself aloud the champion of the much injured Jesuits. I give you all the credit that you deserve, for your contrivance to make a diversion ; but as I emulate the character of a fair and honourable foe, I publicly declare to you, that you will not draw me into your ambush. You will not induce me to quit the post, from which I have chosen to fight you. I feel myself not only impreg-

nable in it, but I am so completely your master, that I will force you either to acknowledge your defeat, or at least to retire from feats of arms and hide your disgraceful wounds. The infection of them annoys your neighbours; you still continue to spread venom among the flock : but in vain do you writhe yourself around; I have pointed you out to your Bishop, (*) I have said to him

*Cape saxa manu, cape robora Pastor,
Tollentemque minas & cærule colla tumentem
Dejice.*

3. Georg.

He may yet aim a blow at you with his pastoral staff; this would at once remove all our sollicitude. But if he still chuses leave the contest to his subalterns, you shall continue to find me among the foremost. I will aim a new stroke at every new head that sprouts, and I will reserve for you those weapons, which you vainly wish me to employ in defence of that deceased society, which consoled itself, even in death, with the recollection of its past successes in a similar warfare. During the period of their service, they were

(*) See the denunciation of Mr. Beringtons doctrines at the end of *Remarks on, &c.*

acknowledged to be useful auxiliaries; the main body to which they were aggregated, still subsists fresh, vigorous and entire; and I told you last year, that the weakest among them is more than an overmatch for you. They regret the loss of their ancient comforts in arms; but they will not lose time in investigating the past conduct of the dead, while their prowess is wanted to resist the new attacks, which you are perpetually directing against them. They are the sons of men, who have been above two hundred years inured to combats against vice and error; they can boast a long list of conquerors in this warfare; and it is my glory and utmost ambition at present to be associated to the exploits of these men,

..... *per quos cecidere justa*

Morte centauri, cecidit tremendæ

Flamma chimære.

HOR. L. 4. Od. 2.

To speak without figure, Mr. Berington, the catholic clergy of great Britain are not to be frightened by your attacks nor to be seduced by your artifices. They heard you with amazement, in your early career, delivering for catholic truths, in their orthodox schools, the borrowed follies of systematical deists; they

dismissed you from the chair, which you profaned; and they have witnessed, during twenty years, your unceasing endeavours to weaken or destroy our respect for the first Bishop of the catholic church, whose Fathers you contemn, whose prelates you revile, whose ceremonies you ridicule, and whose ministers you insult. With grief they have observed your daring attempts to subvert the episcopal authority of our prelates, who reject your services; (a) they have heard the hollow noise of your groundless protestations against their exertions of spiritual jurisdiction; they have beheld with indignation your attempt to rouse, if possible, the ministers of the sanctuary against their anointed prelates; your maxims and your doctrines, your theology and your philosophy, your books and your letters, your rants and your sarcasms have all equally disgusted your ecclesiastical brethren; they had long wished to see a mark set upon you; and when nobody else would undertake the labour, they applauded my endeavours to

(a) It is very certain, that the late right reverend Doctors Challoner, Thomas Talbot, and Matthew Gibson utterly disapproved Mr. Beringtons principles and doctrines; and I have proofs that they are equally disliked by his present prelate, the right reverend Thomas Talbot. The sentiments of our other Bishops are well known.

expose the contradictions and follies of your neoterical philosophy. With the melancholy exception of a few of your nearest neighbours, there is but one voice, with respect to you, throughout the whole body of our clergy; and of your writings I may aver with the exactness of truth, what the love-sick queen uttered of her treacherous suitor,

..... *abolere nefandi*

Cuncta viri monumenta jubet monstratque Sacerdos.

4. *Æn.*

If your other publications offended their orthodoxy, your last, which occasions this address, has raised peculiar disgust; because, besides the old vilifying imputations against Popes and Bishops, it is, among other views, calculated to make a breach, if possible, in their own body, by creating jealousies against the remnants of their ancient auxiliaries, for whom they feel nothing but charity and compassion. Base attempt! it will not succeed. The clergy have but two enemies; they are error and vice; they will constantly combat these; and while you openly protect the former, they must consider you as, at least, an indirect abettor of the latter.

What a comfort, Sir, would it be to me, to view you in a more favourable light! I once hoped with hundreds, that your talents would be exerted in the support of our venerable aged parent, the catholic church, that you would not, at least, league yourself with her foes. (*) Nature and grace had qualified you for that honourable career; but you have been dazzled by the false glare of modern philosophy, and we are reduced to the painful necessity of disavowing and opposing the man, from whom we once hoped to receive comfort and support. Whatever you may judge, Sir, I am far from being fond of controversy, even when the goodness of the cause removes all apprehension of defeat. I know the toils of that painful warfare, and I know that they are never more irksome, than when brethren of the same family meet to contend against each other. Necessity alone can justify it, and that necessity never is more urgent, than when one of the brethren attempts to rob the rest of their unalienable birth-right, when he endeavours to sow discord among them, when he lifts his arm against the chiefs, the

(*) *His qui oderunt Dominum, amicitia conjungeris.*
Paral. 20.

rulers, the fathers of the family. When I engaged in the lists against you, I knew and I esteemed your talents and abilities; but I also knew, that, in support of a faulty cause, they would be of no avail. I do not mean now to boast of the victory which I have gained; in such a cause it could not fail me, *nec habet victoria laudem*. I rather pity you, who, formed for better deeds, would expose yourself to so certain a defeat. You are possessed of a spark of sprightly genius; and you know from experience, how bewitching the allurements are, which the vanity of system, the pride of singularity holds out to an active mind. In arts and even in some sciences, it may be allowable, sometimes perhaps beneficial. In politics it is always dangerous; but in religion it is superlatively mischievous; it is an infallible dereliction of that simple truth, ever ancient and ever new, which, like the Father of lights, from whom it descends, knows not the vicissitudes of change, no, not the very shadow of alteration. (*) This divine truth is ever to be found in the plain beaten track; and since you have abandoned this,

(*) *Descendens à Patre luminum, apud quem non est transmutatio, nec vicissitudinis obumbratio.* Jac. 1. 17.

through

thro' disdain of the guides commissioned to direct you in it, you have given me an advantage over you, which neither the arts of sophism, the parade of learning, nor the brilliancy of talents will be ever able to recover. On any other point I would avoid the contest; in this I am invulnerable, I must surely triumph. The controversy is entirely your own choice, you called me forth to combat, (*) and truth, even in my hands, has routed all your forces. You have rallied them to make a diversion; and though I now come forward with the easy confidence of victory, I do not assume the haughty disdain, that belongs to discomfited pride, which ever affects to condemn its foe. You know that it is the usual resource of the defeated to say, "I despise my antagonist, I will not honour him with an answer," when in reality they have none to return. On the contrary, I esteem, I value your talents; and though you assert, that you will not even read my late *Remarks* on your writings, and my denunciation of them to your Bishop, I certainly am

(*) *Cum omnes fugiant à facie ejus, me minimum omnium expetit ad singulare certamen. S. Bern. de error. P. Abeillard. See the Appeal of Mr. Berington and C^o. to the catholics of England Jan. 1792.*

not haughty enough to imitate you in this. I have read all that you have written in your own defence and against me, and I will not refuse it a reply.

And here, because I wish to be clearly understood, it becomes necessary for me to explain to you in a few lines the present state of our controversy, which your insuperable reluctance to read my *Remarks* must otherwise conceal from your knowledge. I must then remind you, that early in the year 1792 you issued a challenge to me, by a public *appeal* to the tribunal of the catholics of England; that this appeal contained a multitude of imputations against me, and a laboured profession of your own and your associates faith [in which there was but one erroneous proposition,] (a) besides a solemn asseveration of your common orthodoxy and sacerdotal merits. I thought it disrespectful to put in

(a) The proposition is, "Of this church we believe, the Bishop of Rome to be the *head* supreme in, discipline by ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTION. It is remarkable, that this doctrine of the learned Appellants is prefaced by the following assertion. "We know, as others do, what our faith is, and in that knowledge we have learned to distinguish what is human from what is divine. See *Appeal* to, &c. p. 21. 22.

an answer to this appeal till the tribunal should summon me to appear, and in the interval I examined several of your writings, on which you declared that you rested the success of your cause. I discovered from this examination, that if you are an honest man, that is, if your printed sentiments are those of your heart, you are in religion a sceptic, and in politics a *Sans-culottes*. And whereas I had but little time and less money to spend in the demonstration of this discovery, I selected only about three score articles, out of hundreds, as objects of criticism, and I reserved for the peculiar cognizance of your Bishop seventeen pithy propositions, which seemed to me to contain the pregnant seeds of ecclesiastical and civil democracy. Every criticism was accompanied with proofs, which appeared to me irrefragable; and though the language, which I used, might sometimes be rather twitching than *oily*, I think it was such as controversy justifies and good manners need not disavow. I here repeat what I have often said, that I shall be happy, if you can refute the charges which I have alledged against you, on the score of your religious tenets; and if you shall point out to me one false imputation brought against you, one

assertion unsupported by proof, I will publicly recall it, and make every atonement for my fault, which our common superiors may appoint. Such, Sir, has been my conduct; now let me examine yours.

In your preface to the *Memoirs of Panzani*, you have bestowed upon me four large octavo pages, prefaced by a declaration, that in what you are about to say of me, you are an imitator of Jesus-Christ; and because he knew what was in man, “and needed not that any” should inform him concerning man, you “also like the divine master of charity, “having heard what my mouth has uttered, (tho you have not read a word of my *Remarks*) “can safely pronounce on the “abundance of my heart.” (*) You proceed to dissect this heart, and taking your stand on *the broad basis of universal charity*, (†) you there discover that it belongs to — a lineal descendant of the Pharisees — to a fellow — a spreader of defamation — a Tartuffe — a sanctimonious hypocrite — a tinkling cymbal — a mote-puller — an oily speaker, who

(*) See *Preface to Memoirs of Panzani* p. XXVIII.

(†) Ibid. p. XXXIV.

refuses to pour oil into the sores of his wounded brethren, but employs *oily diction* to *veil* a mind of artifice — a poseymaker for the sacred heart of *Mary* — a latitudinarian casuist actuated by resentment — the properest candidate for the bishopric of Billingsgate — a cut-throat — a gnat-strainer — a camel-eater — a compleater of libels - and finally an officious Priest. (*) To this litany, grounded *on the broad basis of universal charity*, might be added some other denominations drawn from the same intuitive knowledge of the human heart, which I could collect from your appeal of 1792 : but because the full force of them is expressed in the titles here specified, I will give you credit for only nineteen gratuitous epithets, of which, as you have attempted to establish but one by proof, I presume it is the only one which I need examine.

You once observed to me, you say, that,
 „ from some circumstances, it appeared, that
 „ I was actuated in my writings by a spirit
 „ of resentment; „ that my answer was, „ such
 „ may be the appearances, but when I took

(*) See *ibid.* p. XXXI. & seq.

„ my pen , I assure you , I purified my inten-
 „ tion „ ; (*) and from this anecdote you infer
 that my casuistry is more ingenious than any
 that was ever seated in the chair of Moses ,
 and is the most apt of all to cover the commission
 of crimes , as will appear to whoever shall
 take the pains to read the letters of Pascal. (†)
 I apprehend , Sir , that in this instance your
 memory is as faulty as your logic. As I
 never had but one opportunity of enjoying
 your conversation , I endeavoured to treasure
 it in my mind , and the gentlemen , who were
 with us , (‡) may pronounce , whether I am
 not accurate in what I shall relate of it. You
 did not observe to me , „ that I appeared ,
 „ from circumstances , to be actuated by
 „ resentment in my writings „ ; but you asked
 me , „ if I was not actuated by resentment in
 „ writing my *Remarks* upon your works. „
 Your question was confined to this part of
 my writings , and you mentioned nothing
 about *circumstances* which denoted a spirit of
 resentment ; indeed what circumstances of

(*) Ibid. p. XXXII.

(†) Ibid. p. XXXIII.

(‡) The hon. Mr. Dormer , the R. Dr. Bellasyse , the
 R. Mr. Southworth and the R. Mr. Milner.

this nature could you know or mention, when you declared that you had not even read the book? My other writings were not named. My answer to your enquiry was simple and true. Far from allowing that the appearances were against me, I answered, that I had not been influenced by any personal resentment against you, but that my motives were virtuous, my intentions pure; and I added, that these motives had been approved by persons of high respect in the priesthood. *Redde mihi verba mea, & vaneſcet calumnia tua.* (*) It is indeed, Sir, a common misfortune to us both, that you would not bend your reluctant mind to read my *Remarks*, before you composed the litany of universal charity, which I have juſt reported. By neglecting to reconnoitre the ground, a general may poſſibly direct his attack where there is no enemy to be defeated; and groundleſs imputations in controverſy will always favour the cauſe, which you wiſh to hurt. If you had taken the common precaution of peruſing my *Remarks*, you would probably have ſaid little about intentions; and ſurely you would have forborne from reprimanding me for *oily*

(*) S. Aug. cont. Jul. Pelag. L. 4. c. 2.

*dic*tion, while, almost in the same breath, you pronounced me unwilling to squeeze one drop of oil into the sores of a distressed brother. Indeed, Sir, when I wrote those *Remarks*, I spread all your wounds before me; I judged that a proper mixture of oil and acid was most suited to the virulency of them; and I will abide by the verdict of your own best friends, whether the style was too oily, or, on the contrary, too acid for the patient. If it has not wrought a cure, the blame must rest with yourself, who obstinately refuse to take the prescription. Though you are totally ignorant of its contents, you pronounce that “ it is impossible to draw any benefit ” from it, ” (*) contrary to the opinion of Mr. Addison, who thought no book so bad, but that something might be learned from it. You candidly allow, (unquestionably upon hearsay) that “ the *Remarks* are written in ” my best manner, ” such as it is, that is, neither too oily, nor too sour; and if nothing else could be gathered from them, you would at least have learned my motives and intentions in publishing them. You would then have judged me from my own

(*) Pref. to *Mem.* p. xxxiv.

writings, instead of judging me from those of Pascal, you would perhaps have spared yourself the trouble of damning me for intentions, which you did not know, and you might moreover have saved your *litany of universal charity*, for the preface of your next work. What a stroke of literary economy would this have been! But independently of so many advantages, I think you would have discovered in the *Remarks* several very cogent motives for not replying to them, which every man, who has read them, would have approved; whereas at present, by taking that hasty resolution without assigning one reason for it, the sneerers may be so ill-natured as to suspect that you act without grounds, that you are afraid of reading them; perhaps even they may question the purity of your intention in writing your preface to *Panzani*. If I had been in your case, I would at least have peeped into those *Remarks*.

You have read, Sir, the story of Themistocles, who, when a philosopher offered to instruct him in the art of remembering every thing, begged on the contrary to be taught the art of forgetting whatever he

should find to be a load upon his memory. (*) When I reflect on the catechistical lessons, which you were taught in your youth, on the promises, which you made to your ecclesiastical superiors at your matriculation at Douay, and compare them with the philosophical documents, and the conduct towards Bishops, which you have since adopted, I am led to think, that you have either found out or recovered the oblivious art, which Themistocles coveted; and if you had looked into my *Remarks*, just only to write your preface, you might as easily have obliterated them from your memory, as you have erased from it your promise of respect and submission to the apostolical vicars, or the obligations which you owe to the Pope himself, who fostered you in your youth, and who fed you in your manhood. It would be useless here to repeat any of those *Remarks*, which you will never read; but because the motives and intentions, with which I wrote them, also influence me in writing this address, I must not omit the mention of them in this place, leaving it to your own option to remember or to forget them, when you come

(*) Cicero de Orat. II. 74.

to write the preface to your next work, which, unless you forget your promise, (*) will be an exhortation to catholics to forswear the old Popes supremacy.

Let me try, Sir, to make this chapter of intentions very distinct and clear. On a late memorable occasion, we had all witnessed a formidable and determined opposition to an important act of episcopal authority, openly headed by two clergymen, and secretly approved by a few others. During the warmth of this contest, I can truly declare, that I frequently expressed my satisfaction, that, though you did not take the station, which duty pointed out, in the service of the Bishops, yet you had not stood forth against them. I was in a mistake. You were at that time soliciting voices and opinions in favour of the reprobated oath, and no sooner was it rejected by parliament, than, followed by twelve other priests, you publicly announced yourself the eternal opponent of the senior prelate, who had condemned it, and had issued a censure against a refractory priest, who supported it. This measure, calculated to

(*) See *Mem. of Panz.* p. 11.

perpetuate discord, was blamed by me, and on your part it was followed by appeals, protestations and addressees, equally injurious to the Bishop, and uncivil to me. The latter circumstance was of little account, and I neglected it : the former, being avowedly designed to disunite the clergy and laity from their spiritual superior, was a matter of higher concern. An invitation on the part of priests to *resist* spiritual authority was so novel in the English catholic church, so similar to the conduct of foreign innovators of faith, that I conceived it a meritorious deed, to warn my brethren not to be misled by such men. I was now acquainted with your printed tenets, and I was convinced, that no upright man would be seduced by your uncanonical *address*, who should know the irreligious and seditious doctrines, with which you had stained the pages of your other works. I pointed out a few of them, I called upon your own Bishop to speak, and my primary *intention* in all this, was to secure the purity of catholic faith and catholic loyalty : for however indifferent I am about your mistakes in philosophy or in history, when they are unconnected with these two points, I think intolerance of error in these to be a duty prescribed by religion;

and the honour of our small body equally requires, that we should publicly disavow a false brother, who murders our creed, and who poisons our allegiance. I meant then to point you out equally to the catholic and protestant public, as a false catholic and a dangerous subject. I meant to offer a public disavowal, on the part of the catholic body, of doctrines which they never held, doctrines subversive of their religion and of all submission to civil magistrates; I meant to prove, beyond the power of refutation, that, the man who published as catholic truths the seventeen propositions, which I denounced to your Bishop, was either miserably ignorant of the catholic catechism, or a malicious calumniator of a religion which he understood. Can any intention be more explicitly, more pointedly announced? Nothing is here concealed, no jesuitical fetches or quibbles to disguise the truth; nor need I borrow any documents from Pascal, to render these my designs, views and intentions intelligible to the meanest capacity. To secure the catholic religion from misrepresentation was the thing uppermost in my intention; for this I confidently invoked your Bishop, the constituted judge of the cause; and if I took in occasio-

nally some collateral matter, which related only to your logic or to your rhetoric, my *intention* was to diversify the subject, and to relieve the reader by incidental episodes; it was to shew, that contradictions and inconsistencies pervade all your thoughts, words and works; my *intention* was, not to cut your throat, as you affirm, it was to prove, that you had cut it yourself. See, Mr. Berington, what information you have lost, by not reading my *Remarks*. In the present instance, my intention is equally simple, fair and perspicuous. Besides the intentions which directed my *Remarks*, I have at present a further view; and it is to defeat and disappoint the *intention*, with which you wrote and published your last performance. I have told you above that I have discovered this intention; and why have you not avowed it with the same frankness and candour, which I have used in explaining mine? When intentions are not clearly announced, charity directs us always to presume and suppose the best: but there are actions so pointed, so decisive, that they leave no room for the ingenuity of charity, they proclaim the intention in every feature, and remove every possibility of doubt explanation or denial. Thus

it would be ridiculous in me to pretend, that I had no intention to discredit your theological opinions and writings by my *Remarks*; it would be equally absurd in you to deny your intention of rendering Popes, apostolical vicars and Jesuits odious to British catholics, and of inducing these latter to swallow the oath of supremacy, which you yourself once taught to be incompatible with the very essence of their religion. (*) For this intention proclaims itself, it beams forth too clearly to be misapprehended, it is what our schoolmen might call *intentio simpliciter simplex*; and it will hardly be judged an uncharitable inference to conclude, that if you can succeed in raising a party to abjure the supremacy of the Pope, one of your *secundæ intentiones* will be, to establish a plebeian poll for the election of a popular Bishop. For this is not merely what you term “an innocent theory that may” amuse the learned; †) it is not, in your plans, as you assert, a project “which must” soon sink into oblivion; §) it is a practical scheme, of which you have canonized

(*) *State and Behav. of R. C.* p. 152.

(†) See *Pref. to Mem.* p. xxxij.

(§) *Ibid.* p. xxiv.

the author, (*) and have diffused the spirit throughout the length of your work. In fact the execution of it will be but one step more in progress; and indeed, when the Pope is once stripped of his supreme headship, it will be a folly to accept of prelates from his hand, when we shall have it in our own power to bring up our small church to the true standard of modern Gallic purity. When we shall thus possess a truly British prelate, we may guess, from various hints in your works, at the fundry reformatiions which will be introduced into our creed and our discipline, especially if the returning officer at the poll should report you to be the Bishop elect. At present, to finish this chapter of *intentions*, I must remind you of one, which you kindly disclosed to me, in that ever precious conference, the secrets of which you have first begun to bring forth into light.

One of the interlocutors having observed, that in my *Remarks*, I had laid great stress upon the inaccuracy of your theological doctrines; you were pleased, Sir, to acknowledge, „ that they were *loosely* worded, and that you

(*) Ibid. p. xxij.

" had purposely expressed them in that man-
 " ner, with an *intention* of winning over pre-
 " testants to our belief. " You added, " that
 " I had shewed so little discernment in the
 " choice of the seventeen propositions, which
 " I had denounced, that you could easily
 " have selected seventeen others much worse
 " than those, which had scandalised me. "
 Never, Sir, did I feel myself more humbled
 by superior abilities, than in that moment.
 I began to think myself indeed a mean critic,
 but I was more than ever at a loss how to
 think you a sound theologian. By your own
 confession, you had wandered, far beyond the
 reach of my puny ideas and *Remarks*, into
 the regions of wilful error, and I could only
 hope that the guilt of your mistakes was
 forgiven, in virtue of the absterfive purity of
 your intention. O that the virtuous Pascal
 were here, to be witness of this purifying
 motive! The charity of it would cover a
 multitude of sins, and he might write another
 chapter on *intentions*, to demonstrate, how
 some articles of faith may be lawfully sa-
 crificed or disguised, for the sake of winning
 over poor heretics to the admission of the rest.
 Our old catholic catechism, which you so

forely blame, (*) used to teach us, that the catholic religion is indivisible, that we must not part with an iota of all that we believe, no, not though angels should stoop from heaven to instruct us in modern philosophy. The tolerant spirit of the times has changed all this. You have taught us, that we may make *concessions* to our dissenting brethren; you have pointed out these concessions; they are chiefly made at the expence of the Pope, and you sanctify all this by the purity of your intention, to please, to attract protestants. Alas! Mr. Berington, to be serious, the catholic church would not receive such converts; she will even disown such dividers of Christ, nor will she ever accept your alledged *intentions* in lieu of the dogmas, which you sacrifice. She earnestly wishes the re-union of all dissenters, she never ceases to call them back to the ancient stock, she knows that *Deus potens est eos rursus inferere*, but she also knows that this can only be done, when God shall incline their minds and hearts to believe, without doubting, every article, which he has inspired her to define and to teach. Do you wish, Sir, to hear any thing

(*) See Mr. Beringtons *Essay on Sunday Schools* p. 34.

more on the casuistry of *intentions*? I leave you to study Pascal, and I proceed.

But before I bring forward other matter, I must remind you of another assertion, which you were pleased to advance in our friendly conference, and it regards a criticism contained in the sixth page of those *Remarks*, which you have never read. You expressed surprise, that I should have quarrelled with the proposition, (*) in which you maintain, that Charles II. and James II. with all their ministers, deserved to be beheaded, for having entered into political connexions with France. You plainly told me, “that my denouncing
” this doctrine to your Bishop fairly turned
” my whole book into ridicule.” Here, Sir, I know not what chapter of Pascal will excuse you. I declare I was almost nettled with indignation, to find one of the best bits of the work, on which I prided myself the most, laughed at as a folly, that spread ridicule over the whole. You happened to say that day, that you wished to hear no more about my *Remarks*, or else I was going to be serious. How, Sir, a trifle to kill two kings, besides

(*) See *State and Behaviour of R. C.* p. 57.

all their ministers? And then to blame it shall be matter of ridicule? During the existence of the Jesuits, when, you know, no king was secure of his life, the rogues never dared to teach regicide in such undisguised terms. Since the extirpation of them from church and state has secured princes from every danger of rebellion, deposition and murder, with what conscience, or rather with what *pious intention* could you renew such odious doctrine? You could not surely have had in view, on that occasion, to convert poor protestants to catholicity; for they all know, that catholics, if steady to their principles, are zealous supporters of royal power; and I am sure, they themselves would never be allured by such tenets. With what *intention* could you support your condemnation of Charles and James, by another principle, which catholics and protestants equally disavow; I mean your doctrine, “that the government, which is” best inclined to give us protection, has the “only right to demand our allegiance”? (*) You may remember, that you taught this bright doctrine to catholics at a season, when two hostile fleets were threatening our coasts

(*) *State and Behav. of R. C. p. 43.*

with invafion, and only two years after you had fworn, that no foreign power had a right to exercife authority or fovereignty in this land. (a) I call upon you, Sir, to explain to us the *intention*, which directed you in the publication of thefe doctrines; we will then judge, if it can juftify or excufe the deed. Untill we know it, we fhall judge it more advifable to ftand by the doctrines, which we have learned in the catholic church, and we fhall confider the former of your doctrines as a corollary to the opinions of Jean Petit which ſhe condemned at Conftance, and the latter as a formal contradiction to whatever ſhe teaches on the duty of fubmiffion to rulers, and on the inviolable ſanctity of an oath.

To be plain, Mr. Berington, however ridiculous it may appear to you, I cannot help regarding thefe two doctrines, as the very quinteffence of modern democracy. They are to me a demonſtration of the truth of what I once ſaid, “ that the worſt of republicans are innovating prieſts. ” I do not wiſh to ſpread them out thro’ all their immediate and remote confequences; but I have

(a) See the oath preſcribed to catholics in 1778.]

observed, that the famous tree of pretended liberty, which at present overshadows France, was some years ago, contained in seeds of smaller dimension, less productive of noxious fruits, than those which you have sown among us. Happily you have, I trust, mistaken your soil; they will not thrive among British catholics, and our pastors will be always assiduous in plucking up the noxious weeds that may appear; they will warn us not to feed in the regions where they are sown, and they will tell us, *inimicus homo hoc fecit*; he sows his tares with craft equal to his malice, but you may always know him by his fruits. We have seen these fruits in a neighbouring land suddenly swell with venom, and poison the flock, while the pastors are forced to retire, with sore regret, that the little seeds were not vigorously crushed and destroyed at a more early period.

Mr. Berington, I have been long accustomed to watch the progress of modern reformation in foreign parts; and I maintain, that whatsoever may be your *intentions*, you have hitherto mimicked the contrivances of its conductors. They did not tell us at once that they would knock down the Pope and his

Bishops ; they even professed respect for them , and confined themselves for a time , to expose , to deplore , to exaggerate the crimes , and the abuses of spiritual power , which they imputed to them. In their attacks upon this power , they alternately ridiculed and reviled , disputed and contrasted every exertion of it ; they persecuted , they vilified , they insulted every man , who ventured to support it ; they talked feelingly of the purity of faith , while , under pretence of disengaging it from human opinions , they assumed to themselves the privilege of ascertaining what belonged to it ; they sily insinuated errors ; they conveyed an heresy in a word or a hint , and the detection of it afforded them fresh matter of ridicule or declamation against mote-pullers and overweening bigots , who have neither charity for the faults , nor yet the eminent virtue of *toleration* for the mistakes of their fellow-creatures ; (*) by word and by writing , in season and out of season , they prosecuted their artful plan ; some they intimidated , others they flattered ; some they seduced , others they hushed ; all things cooperated with them to the completion of the mischief ; they are

(*) See *State and Behav.* p. 97.

now astonished at their own successes, they are rioting in the ruins of thrones and altars, and they see not, that they themselves will be involved in the common destruction.

Cujus est hæc imago! Of whom is this the portrait? I do not say that it is entirely the picture and likeness of you; I only say, that many features of it are discernible in the author of *The State and Behaviour of the Roman Catholics*, of *the Rights of Dissenters*, of *Reflections addressed to J. Hawkins*, and above all in the writer of the effeminate tale of the unmanly Abeillard. It is there that the whole succession of sovereign pontiffs, in the periods, of which you treat, are uniformly arraigned and condemned, as monsters of pride, violence and ambition; they are stigmatized as tyrants of the church, without any regard to the circumstances of the times or to the principles of the ages, in which they lived; their virtues are concealed, their faults or their mistakes are exaggerated; they are exhibited to the detestation of British catholics, who certainly cannot view such unremitting depravity, without loathing the controul of their spiritual rulers; they may even forget the respect due to their spiritual character,

character, and they will be thus disposed to renounce with readiness, what they have been long taught to view with hatred and disgust. Nor are the pontiffs of a later period exempted from the common anathema. They are traduced with peculiar malignity, because their extraordinary favours to British catholics, within the two last centuries, are yet fresh in the minds and hearts of all, and these must be efficaciously erased, before perfect freedom of religion, that is, freedom to reform religion, to destroy religion, can be completely established. We had long been accustomed to hear, with little emotion, this language from declared enemies of the papacy : they had renounced their obedience to the chief pastor, they had disclaimed the profession of his religion; the men were known, and their writings were neglected. If you would imitate their secession, you would, in so desperate a measure, at least rid us of some uneasiness; your works would follow you, they would be as little regarded, and do as little mischief, as is produced by the annual invectives against popery, which are perhaps yet sported in some obscure conventicles on the fifth of November, or by the stated declamations

against celibacy, which apostate priests publish on reading their recantation. That you should go forth from us and alledge the crimes of our pontiffs as the pretext of your departure, might well be suffered : but that you should still stay among us, to alienate the flock from the shepherd; that you should call yourself catholic and speak the language of dissenters; that you should qualify, as catholic truths, the very doctrines, which the catholic church reprobates; that you should share the Popes bread and insult the benefactor, who feeds you; that you should swear obedience to the supreme head of the church, and exhort us to forswear his supremacy; these are things which wear out our patience, they cannot, they must not be borne. Spout against Jesuits; they are fair game, they have been long surrendered up to the cavils of the jealous and the declamations of the malignant; multiply prefaces against Milners and Plowdens, they may entertain some, they will mortify none; but bow your head to the throne and to the mitre, spare our monarchs and respect our pontiffs. Our veneration for both is blended in our hearts, and while I leave to the laws the care of avenging the dignity of the former, I will, for sake of the

latter, recommend to your consideration what was said by Berni to his cotemporary Aretin, than whom a more foul reviler of Popes is not found on the records of scandal, till we arrive at the period, when you commenced author. You are fond of Italian quotations.

*Il Papa è Papa, e tu sei un furfante
Nodrito del pan d'altri e del dir male.*

Cujus est hæc imago? Is it not the likeness of the man, who boasts of his respect for the governors of the church, while in the assembly of his brethren he presumes to present himself as the declared opponent of their government; who, interfering in concerns foreign to his station and employment, has arraigned as unjust, their regular exertions of authority, without which, neither purity of faith, nor due subordination can be preserved; nay who has even dared, (for why should I here commemorate his unwearied endeavors to fan the flame of discord, and to enlist, if possible, embattled priests against their anointed prelates) but he has even dared publicly to mock their most solemn judicial acts, and to assimilate their doctrinal decisions and injunctions to the mumminery of a theatrical farce. (*)

(*) See *Pref. to Mem. of Panz.* p. xxxiv.

This indecency, Sir, is still but a subaltern expression of your contempt of our prelates, whose authoritative mandates, you tell us, cannot now ensure submission, (*) even in doctrinal disputes, which nothing but authority ever has or will terminate; it does not reach that towering height of insult, with which you traduce them as men capable of violating their oath and deceiving their king and country by a perjury. (a) These bold affronts might

(*) *Mem. of Panz.* p. 434.

(a) Mr. Beringtons imputation is grounded on an information which he has received, (see *Mem. of Panzani* p. 433.) that Bishops Walmesley and Douglass have signed a counter-protestation. I know not that they have done so; but I know, that if I had been so unfortunate as to sign the Protestation of 1789, as most others did, under vague explanations and an assurance that no oath was to follow it; certainly I would record the true meaning, in which I had accepted that deed, since it has been so violently distorted to signify even much more, than the words, in their obvious sense, imported. That this has been the case is made evident by the oath, which was offered, and which, tho' charged with additional deviations from our old principles, its framers and abettors constantly maintained to be the same thing with the Protestation. The instrument deposited in the museum should not give evidence to posterity, that I had said more than I really meant to say.

Mr. Berington asserts (*Mem.* p. 432.) that the deed

indeed be expected from the historian of Abeillard, who has roundly denied the very existence of an episcopal tribunal divinely commissioned to decide doctrinal questions without appeal, and who has presumed to assert, that fluctuation of faith enters into the arrangement projected by the divine founder

which is deposited in the British museum, is the *original*. I have reason to think, that it is not; and if so, surely no catholic will suffer his name to remain sewed to it. In such a case, the difference between an *original* and even a *true copy*, is of infinite consequence: but if there be but a comma changed, then it is a false copy, and every man will surely tear his name from it. The late committee in the appendix to their third blue book N^o. III. p. 14. have printed the Protestation with the following title viz. *The declaration and Protestation signed by the English CATHOLIC DISSENTERS, in 1789.* With this title it passed through three or four printed editions. It was presented to the Commons of great Britain in the form of a petition, with only the verbal variations necessary for this purpose, as being *The humble petition of the persons, whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and others CATHOLIC DISSENTERS of England.* See third blue book N^o. IV. p. 31. It stands in the museum at present as *the Protestation and declaration of the ENGLISH CATHOLICS*, written on the same skin, on which the Protestation itself occurs. This is not then the original instrument, of which the committee published three or four different editions; it is not that, which was presented to Parliament in the shape of a petition; it is then a different instru-

of the church. (*) Who then, Sir, will be surprised to hear you treat exploded errors as *innocent theories* calculated to amuse the learned, (†) or as *excrescencies of wild imaginations of virtuous, learned, and honest men, whom kings, priests and Jesuits* (no doubt unjustly) persecute? (‡) Who will be surprised to find the seeds of these *innocent theories* artfully scattered throughout your writings, where they may ferment, till the overthrow of episcopal authority shall enable them to take growth, and spread the sweet fruits of philosophy,

ment. If the title be changed, (to adopt Mr. Beringtons own reasoning *ibid.*) are we sure, that there may not also exist an alteration in the context? A material one in the signatures has been pointed out by Mr. Milner. *Eccles. Democ. detected* p. 297, &c. I am not surprised, that the Bishops, having given, by their oath, a pledge of their duty to government, should be anxious to secure their character from the imputation of having signed whatever the agents of the late committee may have deposited in the museum, without the knowledge or consent of the catholic public. The gentlemen, who by a majority of twenty five, voted the Protestation into the museum, undoubtedly meant, that the *original* which was signed, not that a garbled copy, should receive that honour.

(*) See *Life of Abeillard*, &c. p. 156. 157.

(†) *Pref. to Mem.* p. xxxij.

(‡) *Mem. of Panz.* p. 443.

where now you can see only weeds of bigoted superstition? Thus you talk to us of *the cumbrous weight of ceremonies and the unmeaning pageantry* which is inconsistent with *the dignity of our religion*; (*) thus you regulate our moral conduct by the vibration of nerves; (**) thus you insinuate the deep metaphysical dogma of the rationality of brute beasts; (†) and thus you doubt, still more nervously, of the expediency of our venerable old celibatary canons. (§) Short as these hints are, they are pregnant with meaning, and contain more than you judged it, at that time, prudent to preach upon the house-tops: they are the *verbum sapienti*, and dull indeed must he be, who cannot take the meaning. For though it would undoubtedly be a false inference to conclude, yet perhaps it may not be thought quite a rash surmise to suspect, that the priest, who has publicly announced his doubts of the expediency of sacerdotal celibacy, has sometimes privately thought of *a sister a wife*. At any

(*) See *Reflect. to J. H.* p. 20.

(**) *Ibid.* p. 100. Pref. to *State and Behav.* p. iv. *Life of Abeillard* passim.

(†) *Reflect. to J. H.* p. 33.

(§) *Ibid.* p. 8.

rate, Sir, it must appear astonishing to your clerical brethren, that you would throw out such slippery doubts, in a work, purposely written in defence of the catholic system of faith and discipline, against an apostate monk, who a little before, had exchanged his vow of chastity for a musicians daughter. The priest, who could do this, was biaſſed, no doubt, by philanthropy, to flatter religionists of every description; but, like other unsteady men, he must expect to be trusted by none, and to be contemned by all. For can God or can man approve his conduct, while on one side he boasts himself the avenger of the much injured catholic church, and on the other, (to borrow an expression, which, I think, he somewhere uses) he suffers himself to be carried down the rapid stream of reformation? It will be well, if, in the end, he do not land upon the wrong bank,

Iliæ dum se nimium querenti

Jacſat ultorem, vagus & sinistra

Labitur ripa, jove non probante,

UXORIUS.

HOR. L. I. Od. 2.

I have said enough, Mr. Berington, to convince you, that I am far from regarding you as an inconsiderable opponent. I have
(indeed

indeed treated you as an inconsistent man; whose vanity ever hurries him into contradictions; but then I have acknowledged, that this is less to be imputed to your own native character, than to the badness of the cause which you promote. Too well you know the propensity of your cotemporaries to cherish the spirit of innovation; and though it is always presented amidst inconsistencies, which shock the understanding, yet it fails not to attract votaries, because it flatters the heart. It is this, that renders you a dreaded enemy of the catholic cause; and you know that there are persons in our own body, who are ever willing to forget your contradictions, to palliate your grossest errors, to blame me for detecting and exposing them; nay perhaps a few might be found, who emulating the glory of demolishing Popes and Bishops, would be disposed to share with you the dangers of the assault; and though they might yield to you the palm of superior prowess, they would crowd around you in horrid council, like the Etnæan brethren, hurling defiance to the skies,

Ætnæi fratres, cælo capita alta ferentes
Concilium horrendum.

3. *Æn.*

G

You must be sensible, Sir, that these men, if such there be, cannot be knitted together into a formidable phalanx, unless you place yourself at their head; and if you would recede from arms, they would subside into peace, or at least into insignificancy. Lay down your arms, and no doubts will any longer exist, but that the successor of St. Peter enjoys, by right divine, the uncommunicable title of supreme head of the catholic church: our consequent duty, of submitting to the immediate pastors appointed by him, will be no longer a problem; we shall no more be scandalised by protests and appeals against the men, to whom we have sworn obedience; we shall no longer dread your threatened demonstrations, (*) that it is lawful to divest the first Bishop of the exercise of supreme spiritual rule, and perhaps to transfer it to that other chief, to whom we have irrevocably pledged our duty and affection, in every civil and temporal concern. Mistake me not, Sir, I do not dread the weight of your arguments, they are lighter than chaff; but I dread the disposition of some to prefer falsehood to truth; I dread the resentments, the vanity, the igno-

(*) See *Mem. of Panz.* p. 11.

rance of others; I dread the bubble of reputation, which your exotic writings have acquired; I dread those talents, those abilities, which you have hitherto applied to the worst of purposes; in a word, I dread the joint effect of all these causes, which, under your guidance, may easily produce a new schism in the small remnant of our ancient national church. Think not, Sir, that I condemn or undervalue you; no, not even as a writer. For though the degrading spirit of neoterism, which infects all your thoughts, has for some years proportionably deteriorated your language and your stile, yet I acknowledge, to have found, even in your later works, besides a competent stock of historical information, some well written passages, which continual affectation of prettiness had not yet utterly spoiled. (a)

(a) Many curious models of modern fine writing might be gathered from Mr. Beringtons later works. Among the flowers of oratory, the characteristic of his style seems to be the trope, which rhetoricians call the *Hyperbaton*, or the topsy-turvy way of writing. His sentences for ever stand with the wrong end upwards. His history of Henry II &c. in particular teems with this beauty. Thus p. 15. "Together they were crowned." p. 17. "Her Louis asked in marriage." p. 40. "When Frederic was deaf — him he excommunicated." p. 375.

I have ventured sometimes to blame your rhetoric, frequently your logic; (*) but I

„ In Calabria was a devout abbot; him Richard sent
 „ for. „ p. 426. “ On it he laid a dart..... him
 „ meaning to reserve for a more painful death „ p. 427. “
 „ My father and my two brothers you slew. „ p. 509 “ On
 „ Becket they can be severe, tho’ to his prince he
 „ never uttered language so unseemly. „ p. 510. “ Again
 „ assembled the prelates, abbots, deans and barons of
 „ the realm. „ p. 542. “ The duplicity, he had often
 „ practised, it would be now, he thought, most ex-
 „ pedient to exercise. „ &c. & *passim per totam.* —

Every school boy knows, that the first sentence of his exercise has a prescriptive right to be nicely smoothed, rounded and polished. It serves as a letter of recommendation for what is to follow. Listen to our author opening the history of Henry II. p. 1. “ Awful is
 „ the impression which now falls on my mind, when,
 „ with the annals of times long passed open before me,
 „ I sit down to contemplate the manners of men and the
 „ events of their days, and *to trace*, through the maze
 „ of its progress, the meandering and *often evanescent* line
 „ of truth. „ Is the reader able *to trace*, in this sentence, the *evanescent* line of good sense and consistency?

In p. 2. Mr. Berington assures us, that, tho’ “ his
 „ guides, whom the cowl covered, (Roger de Hoveden
 „ William Neubrigensis, &c.) have no style that charms;
 „ yet he will follow them, earnest to bring forward their
 „ *unadorned* narration, and rather willing to incur the

(*) See Remarks on *Se. passim.*

still try to view with some respect a printed paper in my possession, in which you qualify

„ censure of dulness, than to attempt amusement by
 „ illusive arts or the supplements of invention. „ He
 remembers the old adage, “ Ornari res magna vetat,
 „ contenta doceri; Manil. l. 1.; „ he knows with Ci-
 cero l. 3. de Fin. that “ grandiores res dicere ornatè
 „ puerile est, plane autem & perspicue posse, docti est
 „ & intelligentis viri. „ I had not forgotten his promise,
 When I read his 371 page, the prototype of which in
 old Roger, whom he cites in the margin, is as follows.
 „ Vicesimâ tertiâ die Septembris Richardus rex Angliæ
 „ venit Messanam in Sicilia, cum burciis multis & aliis
 „ magnis navibus & galeis, in tantâ gloriâ, & sonitu
 „ tubarum & buccinum, quòd tremor apprehendit eos qui
 „ in civitate erant. Rex vero Franciæ & sui, & omnes
 „ principes civitatis Messanæ, & clerus & populus stabant
 „ in littore admirantes super his, quæ viderant & audierant
 „ de rege Angliæ & de potestate ejus; qui cum appli-
 „ cuisset, &c. &c. „ Rog. de Hoveden apud Rer. Ang.
 scriptores p. 673. The reader will not much wonder that
 Rogers story is artless, because he wore a cowl: but if
 he has any classical taste, he will admire the *unadorned*
 and elegant simplicity, with which Mr. Berington,
 who never wore a cowl, has delivered it in English.
 p. 371 “ On the twenty-third, an armament was seen,
 „ proudly advancing between Scylla and Charybdis. The
 „ streamers floated on the wind, and the gorgeous ap-
 „ pearance of glistening objects, announced the approach
 „ of an eastern monarch. But soon was heard the sound
 „ of music; and the clangor of horns and trumpets swel-
 „ ling the breeze, excited a general admiration. The

yourself *Professor of Philosophy*. It is now
some years since you proclaimed yourself a

„ nobles of Messina, with its priests and people, and Philip
„ the French monarch, with his army, and the English
„ crusaders, a vast multitude, hastened to the beach,
„ gazed and listened. — It was Richard king of England,
„ with his gallies and their attendant vessels, from the
„ port of Salerno, which he had left when news came,
„ that his fleet was at Messina. He landed, &c. &c. „
Similar instances of classical purity may be seen in the
death of Richard I. taken from good Roger, p. 426. and
especially in the battle of Bouvines p. 534. equally co-
pied from the cowed chroniclers of old season. This
battle of Bouvines, on the whole, is well fought by
Mr. Berington; tho' his detail of *the various chances and
achievements of it* (which he promises not to detail)
exhibits little invention or military knowledge. Change
the names, and the rest will fit almost any battle that
was fought before the invention of gunpowder. Nothing
was then more common, than to *wear armour, tempered
by the ablest workmen, which shivered or blunted the re-
coiling weapons, and bent to no concussion*. Often before
king Philip, had a general been *dragged from his horse
by a soldier who had fixed his barbed javelin on the top of
his cuirass*; often had kings *with all their armour on,
sprang from the ground, and after resisting a hundred swords,
had been rescued by the impetuous fury of their horses*, &c.
p. 535. If Mr. Berington had not disclaimed all *supple-
ments of invention to the unadorned narration* of the old
monks, it might be imagined, that all this was copied
from his old task-book at the college. I say nothing of
the pedantry of using obsolete or new coined words, or

man of some letters, (*) and I readily admit your claim to that title: but it is the misfortune of persons, who fancy themselves *men of some letters*, that they have frequently a more important lesson to learn, I mean, the art of turning their *some letters* to an useful purpose; and to this logic would be of use. The remark is just, but it is not mine. It was made, many ages ago, by the best logician of the christian church, who observed, “ *Qui* ” *existimat SE SCIRE ALIQUID, nondum* ” *cognovit quomodo oporteat eum scire.* ” (†) He that fancies himself a man of *some letters*, has not yet learned how he ought to use them.

The truth of this apostolical remark has been most exactly exemplified in the several writings, with which you have, during twenty years, disedified the body of British catholics; but I must confine myself to prove it from your late publication, which is throughout a

affixing uncommon meanings to those which are current. Such are *hardihood*, *troublous*, *perturb*, *garish*, *tranquilly*, *manhood* for *humanity*, *belabour* for *labour*, &c.

(*) *Reflect.* to J. H. p. 35.

(†) 1. Cor. 7. 2.

bright illustration of the apostles text. It is not indeed within my plan to refute all the contents of that romance; I have not time to write a book as thick as yours, and a few comments on some of the prominent features of it will suffice to point out the knowledge which you wanted, and the knowledge which you have abused. This want and this abuse of knowledge seem to import a wilfulness of error; and how can I excuse you from it, when you have avowedly copied writers, who, on disputable points, had declared themselves even passionate partisans of one side of the question; and thro' fear of acquiring information, you equivalently acknowledge that you would not even read what has been written on the other? In controverted matters, in which the truths of religion are not concerned, no infallible authority can be acknowledged, and if it be a painful task to disengage truth from the shades, in which it is enveloped, that task cannot be successfully performed, without comparing the assertions and reasonings of the contending parties; and writers experienced in these disquisitions have frequently found, that Truth was standing in the middle between both parties, and was equally unobserved by both. For your part, you
have

have wilfully turned your back upon her; you have refused to search for the avenues, which might lead you to her, and yet you have the assurance to cry out, that you alone are in possession of this long concealed and interesting fugitive. You have discovered her lurking in the dusty desks of Dodd, and you forget that this man, whatever his merits were in other respects, was certainly warped by violent prejudices, and ought therefore to be mistrusted, till his adversaries story has been told and examined. But you adopt all his prejudices, you will not risk the loss of one of them, which the writers on the opposite side might possibly wrest from you; and though you are resolved neither to read nor to believe what cotemporary Jesuits and others have transmitted to us on these matters, you most unconscionably expect, that your cotemporaries should read and believe you. But, if I am rightly informed, they have meted to you in your own measure; your work is left to the fate, which had attended the Memoirs of Panzani, untill your *universal charity* drew them forth into light; and where curiosity has paid the price, at which you tax it, many of the purchasers have not laboured beyond the preface.

In fact, Mr. Berington, you come too late to the market, to sell libels against the Jesuits. They are now a stale ware; they pall upon the appetite. Thirty years ago their destruction was yet to be accomplished, and the Beringtons of the day then stunned our ears with the rehearsal of jesuitical iniquities, more black and numerous, than ever stained a table of sins in a jansenistical prayer-book. At present these same men have other work upon their hands; they are now shaking down thrones, altars, and church-establishments, and you are kindly lending them an auxiliary hand to complete the ruin. But the phantoms of dead Jesuits are still fluttering before your eyes; and while from a remnant of affected moderation you blame your friend Dodd for the asperity of the language, with which he addressed them; (*) while you wish that he had passed by them, like a surly mastiff, in silent indignation; (†) you, with your usual inconsistency, worry them, with growl Cerberian, thro' more than five hundred pages. The Jesuits have been sometimes reproached with the folly of considering their enemies

(*) *Mem. of Panz.* p. 399.

(†) *Pref. to Mem.* p. xj.

as foes of the church. I could never observe, that they were guilty of this absurdity; but I have often heard them remark, that all enemies of the church professed an enmity to them. This, I believe, was a very grounded observation; and it is equally true, that, though a few orthodox Doctors may still, in the sincerity of their heart, vent curses against them, yet the best and most steady adherents to the catholic church regret their overthrow, especially since providence has permitted the innovators and philosophers, who had contrived it, to display the depth of their plan, by the subversion of a large portion of the catholic church, in the destruction of a neighbouring kingdom. Inquire of those christian confessors, the dispersed prelates of the French churches; they will, perhaps to a man, renew the honourable testimony, which their predecessors gave to the Jesuits in 1761, (*) when the philosophic Parliamentarians immolated them to the resentments of a corrupted court, to the rage of an hypocritical sect, to the fury of deistical philosophers, and above all, to their own rebellious schemes of personal aggrandisement. The language of these

(*) See *Avis des évêques de France*. 1761.

prelates, whom I invoke with confidence; would be re-ecchoed by their inferior clergy, and it would confound the shameless presumption, with which you dare to revile the Jesuits, as systematical opposers of episcopal jurisdiction. Believe me, Mr. Berington, I knew those men better than you. Their virtues and their defects were displayed before me during several of my best years, and my eyes were not entirely averse to observation. I remember their virtues with pleasure, nay scattered traces of them may yet be discerned. But to whatever length the catalogue of their faults may be supposed, by ignorant, by malicious, or by impartial persons to have extended, I can solemnly and truly declare, that disrespect to ecclesiastical powers was not upon the list. During fourteen years which I spent among the Jesuits, I was personally acquainted with members of that body, of almost every nation which the sun enlightens, in England, in Flanders, in France, in Germany and in Italy; (a) and during that long space of time,

(a) During this period, the expulsion of the Jesuits from all the dominions of the house of Bourbon and Portugal, had collected into the towns of the Popes states, all the Jesuits of the European territories of those mo-

I never witnessed an action, or heard a word among them, which expressed or indicated disregard for the constituted powers of the church. On the contrary, the Jesuits in every country looked up to the episcopal order for support and protection; they every where endeavoured to merit it by respect, zeal and assiduity in their professional duties; and when the blow of death struck them to the ground; in their agony, they heard almost every catholic Bishop utter a sigh at their fate. The names of the very few prelates, in whom it wrought an unnatural joy, might be repeated in a breath, and, I am sure, that the sound of an English name would not be heard among them. If Parsons, the father of the English Jesuits was infected with an anti-episcopalian spirit, as you would persuade us, at least that spirit did not reach his latest descendants, who expired in 1773. But was this his real

narchies, besides a multitude of missionaries from every part of Asia, America, the Levant, &c. who, in their exile, did not quite perish with hunger and distress. Many of them still survive, to edify the Italian towns by their religious deportment. See the account given of them by Grosley *Voyag. d'Italie.* by Raynal, *Hist. des établis. Europ.* and others.

character? If it was, I should suspect from your writings, that you were appointed his heir.

The remarks, which I am going to make on your *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani* will necessitate me to speak of that celebrated man more frequently than I wish, because my plan is not to vindicate the Jesuits nor to write the history of British catholics; I only mean to shew, that you have written a false one. Either of the two former schemes would require a voluminous work; and if, in executing the latter, frequent mention of the Jesuits will occur, the fault is entirely your own, in having selected them for the constant subject of your misrepresentations. If in the last page I have roundly denied the most prominent of your calumnies against them, it can hardly be thought a deviation from my plan; both because the atrocity of the imputation was peculiarly provoking, and without advancing historical proofs, I have barely stated my own assertion against yours. And, as I must now hasten to my remarks, I close this address by declaring, that I am willing to commit my character for veracity

(63)

against yours, to the impartial judgment of
those, who have read and considered our
respective writings.

I am, SIR, &c.

CHARLES PLOWDEN.

October 19. 1793.

(63)

to the great point, to the great point of
the world, who have been considered our
respective winners.

I am, Sir, &c.

CHARLES BROWNE

October 19. 1793.

PART I.



PART I.
REMARKS
ON THE
INTRODUCTION
TO THE MEMOIRS
OF
GREGORIO PANZANI.

THE supposed *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, which, though the smallest division of the work, give the name to the whole, are bolstered up on the two sides by an *Introduction* and a *Supplement*, and on each of these three parts I owe Mr. Berington some remarks. I must first observe, that he considers the destruction of the catholic religion by Queen Elisabeth as a measure re-

commended equally by *prudence* and *policy* ; and he tells us “ that the Queen resolved
 ” to listen to the voice of these virtues,
 ” in order to terminate the differences of
 ” her subjects, and to give stability to her
 ” throne. ” (*) Soon after, he contradicts all this, by deducing that great event solely from her spirit of *indignant resentment*, which was provoked by the arrogance of Paul IV ; and “ to him, he says, the defection of
 ” England from the communion of Rome is
 ” to be imputed. ” (†) In catholic principles, neither policy nor indignation, but the evidence of truth, is assumed as a guide in the choice of religion ; and if prudence had been consulted by Elisabeth, it would surely have pointed out the impropriety of subverting by violence a religion, which had been established for ages, a religion, which she had sworn to maintain, and which was then professed by far the greatest part of her subjects. Mr. Berington lavishes praise upon Elisabeth, who succeeded in her undertaking ; he reserves his censures for James II, who failed in a similar attempt to alter the re-

(*) *Mem. of Panz. p. 2.*

(†) *Ibid. p. 3. 4.*

ligion of the land. Perhaps I say too much when I attribute such a project to James : for whatever his intentions were , his actions announced no more than a design to establish a full toleration of the religion , which he professed , and to restore the members of his own communion to the enjoyment of the civil and religious advantages , of which his predecessors had deprived them. In the execution of this scheme , neither racks nor gibbets , nor yet deprivations , nor forfeitures , nor confiscations ever entered into his thoughts. He meant to deal out the good things of the land with impartiality to persons of every religious denomination ; but his intolerant enemies would not suffer him to be just. He was unsuccessful , because he misplaced his confidence , and he is reviled by Mr. Berington , because he was betrayed. (*) Conscientious conviction of rectitude undeniably moved James to favour the catholic religion ; policy and interest , which Mr. Berington exalts into *prudence and wisdom* , had alone influenced Elisabeth to destroy it ; and to these motives , rather than to the

(*) Ibid. p. 331. & seq. *State and Behav.* p. 71. & seq.

answer of Paul IV, the defection of England from the catholic church must be ascribed.

Official answers of princes are usually digested and framed with much consideration. Though the ancient papal claims are now disallowed and rejected, it must be remembered, that Pope Paul had never, either in reality or virtually, renounced them. He was moreover the third successor of the Pope, to whose decision the marriage of Henry VIII with Anne Bolen had been ultimately referred by the British court; and after the solemn determination of that great cause, it was not possible for him, either as Pope, or as sovereign, to acknowledge the title, which the issue of that marriage preferred to the British throne. In other circumstances, Paul would probably have concerned himself as little with the succession of the British crown, (as his predecessors had done, in the several translations of it from one pretender to another, during the two hundred preceding years. If to these considerations be added the affronts, which had been offered in England to the religion, of which he was the chief Bishop, and the well known dispositions of Elisabeth to renew them; the lofty style of his answer may

perhaps create less surprise, than the audacity, with which Mr. Berington pretends, that the thoughts and conduct of the sovereign pontiff, even in political matters, ought to be fettered and controuled by his subjects. (a) But such sentiments uttered by Mr. Berington create no surprise in me, when I recollect

(a) See *Mem.* p. 4. These sentiments flow from Mr. Beringtons favorite Richerian system, which makes the Popes duty merely ministerial, and dependant upon those whom he is appointed to rule. Catholics hold, that the Pope is the supreme head of the church in all matters of faith and discipline, in virtue of the commission delivered by Christ to St. Peter. Mr. Berington and his *Staffordshire clergy* maintain, that the Popes supremacy, in matters of discipline, is derived, not from divine appointment, but from *ecclesiastical institution*. See their *appeal* of Jan. 1792. p. 22. Though this doctrine be palpably erroneous, let them not imagine, that I stigmatize them as heretics. However, if they do not renounce and revoke their error, we may indeed continue to presume the integrity of their faith, but we shall apply to them, what St. Epiphanius said of Meletius, *Señam duntaxat fecerat, à fide non discesserat*. I further remark, that this *Staffordshire doctrine* tends as directly to overturn the spiritual power of the Pope, as Mr. Beringtons declamations against his temporal sovereignty in Italy, and his commendation of Arnold of Brescia tend to excite rebellion in the ecclesiastical state. See *Life of Abeillard* pp. 309. 351 & seq. Whoever, in these times, is an enemy to one established sovereignty, may be presumed to be hostile to all.

the mighty praises, which he has bestowed upon Arnold of Brescia, Tanchelm of Antwerp and other Jacobins of the middle ages; (*) neither is it a matter of surprise to me, (so much am I habituated to his contradictions) to find him elsewhere pronouncing “ the laws of Elifabeth *tyrannical* and *unjust*, ” and allowing the catholics, indeed in one instance, to have been highly blameable; ” but that was, when power was in their hands, and they were pusillanimous or impolitic enough, to *permit* the spurious offspring of Henry, whose dispositions they well knew, to mount the British throne. Our fellow-sufferers in France, (the Huguenots) he adds, would have played a better game. ” (†) All this affords no subject of surprise in a man, who is one day to write a book of *Retractions*, “ to shew the progress (in philosophy) which he has made, since he commenced author; ” (§) and we must be content at present to hear him extol the wisdom and sagacity of Elifabeth, “ in modelling a Parliament to her own desires, in

(*) *Ibid.* p. 309. & seq.

(†) *Pref. to Reflect. to J. H.* p. viij.

(§) *Pref. to Mem. of Panzani* p. xxx.

„ altering the whole system of religion in a
 „ single session, and in breaking down at
 „ once the whole mass of papal jurisdiction,
 „ because the whole fabric of it seemed to
 „ be the contrivance of human ambition on
 „ one side, and of weak concessions on the
 „ other. „ (*) I am not sufficiently versed in
 Mr. Beringtons philosophy to comprehend,
 how *weak concessions could contrive a fabric of*
jurisdiction; but I am sufficiently acquainted
 with my religion to know, that the unalie-
 nable spiritual right of supremacy, residing in
 the first Bishop, was understood as well in
 the days of Elifabeth, as it is at present; and
 I know that a woman assumed it. „ How
 „ should a state proceed, says Mr. Berington,
 „ now convinced that such a paramount jurif-
 „ diction was incompatible with its sove-
 „ reignty, than at once to break down *the*
 „ *whole mass*, conscious at the same time,
 „ that their decrees would not affect what was
 „ really divine and primitive. „ (†) I repeat
 again, that this language creates in me no
 surprise, because Mr. Berington has declared
 in his preface, „ that he is not of my reli-

(*) *Mem. of Panzani. p. p. 4. 6. 7.*

(†) *Ibid. p. 8.*

„ gion, „ (*) which certainly exacts from me a belief, that the supremacy of the first Bishop is of divine institution, and that it cannot be wrested from him without a crime. The thing which surprises me is, that denying, as he most certainly appears to do, this article of catholic faith, he still continues to call himself a champion of the catholic church; my surprise is, that twelve catholic priests are found, who will adhere to his protestations against episcopal jurisdiction, and suffer a work to be inscribed to them, which tends directly to deny that of the sovereign pontiff to be primitive and divine. Perhaps the good men were not let into the secret of Mr. Beringtons intentions, in writing the above cited passage. Perhaps they forgot to compare it with his doctrine in 1787, when he taught us, that the Popes supremacy, which is renounced by the oath of Elisabeth, „ is as much of a religious nature, as the sacrament itself of the „ lords supper. „ (†)

Whatever this supremacy was in itself, or may be in Mr. Beringtons creed, the

(*) p. xxxiv.

(†) *Address to the Protest. Dissent. p. 27.*

Parliament *modelled to Elisabeths desires* settled it in its full extent upon their mistress; and I here defy Mr. Berington to produce from history an act of any ancient Pope, invasive of the legal and established rights of princes, which, in hardness of usurpation, can be compared with this female assumption of a power, which had been attached through more than fifteen centuries, exclusively to the first christian Bishop. He has produced the Queens subsequent *admonition*, contrived to soften, if possible, the revolting features of this astonishing deed; but the citation of this subsequent admonition is a pitiful evasion, which can never elude nor excuse the naked fact. A woman really declared herself vested with a spiritual commission to govern the church; and she supported it, as her father had done, by axes and gibbets erected against those, whom conscience forbade to acknowledge it. It is idle and nugatory in Mr. Berington to tell us, that this business was left for future explanation. (*) Articles of faith are not subjected to the explanations of Queens and courtiers, or of parliaments *modelled to their desires*; and as long as statute books and

(*) Mem. p. 8.

authentic histories shall exist, they will give undeniable evidence, that the all-complying parliament of Henri VIII meant to vest in that monarch all the spiritual authority, which the Pope had previously enjoyed, and that his daughter Elifabeth assumed the full extent of her fathers new prerogative. She doled out and she resumed her ghostly gifts at pleasure; for she was supreme, and who should controul her? Venerable canons mark out to the catholic Pope the cautious mode of proceeding to the suspension or deposition of Bishops; but Elifabeth frowned from the height of her supremacy, and all the spiritual powers of the primate of England instantly vanished. (a)

(a) See the history of archbishop Grindals suspension in Collyer Vol. 2. p. 553. The Queen commands the exercise of prophesying to be suppressed, and homilies to be read instead of sermons. Grindal expostulates. The Queen charges the other Bishops to discontinue the practice of prophesying and "about a month after, Grindal continuing incompilant, was confined in his house and sequestered from his jurisdiction for six months. This restraint was clapped upon him, when he was going on his metropolitieal visitation..... Dr. Yates acted for him during his suspension. After the six months, he makes an apology in a letter to the Queen; but, this letter not being resigning enough, the sequestration continued. The convocation petition without

They were transferred from archbishop Grindal to a substitute of her own appointment; and this spiritual act of suspension gave efficacy to the threats of deprivation, which she denounced against the rest of her new modelled clergy, (a) unless they would concur to

success for the restoration of the primate, who at length submits by a deed dated august 21. 1580. This affair is supposed to have accelerated his death, which happened soon after. This fact alone demonstrates against Mr. Berington, that the ecclesiastical headship, which Elisabeth assumed, was understood by her to involve that truly spiritual power, which catholics believe to be the *divine* and *primitive* prerogative of the Pope. It equally refutes the meagre arguments, with which Sir J. Throckmorton attempts to prove, that the oath of supremacy means something different from the common acceptation of the words. Such reasoning will not *now* succeed with English catholics. See the complete refutation of it in *Eccles. Democ. detected.* p. 162 & seq.

(a) See the Queens speech at the dissolution of Parliament, march 29. 1585. " One matter toucheth me so neere, „ as I may not overskip; religion, the ground on „ which all other matters ought to take roote, and being „ corrupted, may marr all the tree; and that there be some „ fault-finders with the order of the clergie, which so may „ make a slander to myself and the church, *whose overlooker* „ *god hath made me*; whose negligence cannot be excused, „ if any schismes or errors heretical were suffered. Thus „ much I must say, that some faults and negligences may „ growe and be, as in all other great changes it happe-

crush puritanical schismatics, who presumed to chuse for themselves a religion, which she had not prescribed nor approved. Catholic gainfayers of her supremacy felt the strength of her secular arm, in deprivations, fines, exile, chains and halters; and the new gospellers of the age did not dogmatize with impunity. (a) Indeed Queen Elifabeth was, in the strict sense of that word, a persecutor. She persecuted even the presbyterians, whose supposed attempts to overthrow the church, which

„ neth..... All which, if you my Lords of the clergie
 „ do not amend, *I minde to depose you*. Looke ye there-
 „ fore well to your charges..... I must yeelde this
 „ to be true, that I suppose few, that be no professors,
 „ have read more (than I.)..... I see manie overbolde
 „ With god almighty, making too manie subtil scannings
 „ of his blessed will, as lawyers do with human testa-
 „ ments. The presumption is so great, as I may not
 „ suffer it, nor tolerate newfangledness. I mean to
 „ guide them both by gods written rule. „ Stowes An-
 nals. p. 1181. *cum privilegio regie majestatis A. D. 1600.*
 dedicated to the archbishop of Canterbury.

(a) See the Proclamation against the sectaries of *the family of love*, Oct. 3. 1580; the burning of Matthew Hamont at Norwich for heresy May 20. ejusd. an. the execution of Elias Thacker and John Coping June 4. 1583, for writing against *the book of common prayer*; the burning of John Lewis for heresy in *denying the godhead of Christ*, Sep. 17. eod. an. *Howes upon Stow*. Sub his ann.

this very Queen established, Mr. Berington, by his own confession, views with pleasure and delight. (*) With what decency then can he extenuate and even commend her severity to catholics, while, consistently with his own professions, he cannot applaud it, when extended to dissenters? If I expected consistency from him, I would ask, with what face he can desire the overthrow of the established church, the public service of which he so highly applauds “as dignified and decent, and well adapted to the sedate and philosophical character of the English people”? (†) With what consistency can he preach the catholic religion, which he every where represents as debased by idle ceremonies, and tyrannized by haughty pontiffs and assuming Bishops? With what consistency can he exult in modern attempts to overturn the established church, (§) while he commends the catholic clergy for submitting to the laws of Elisabeth, which established it, and declares that “such resignation was then become their christian

(*) See *address to Protest. Dissent.* p. 41.

(†) *Mem.* p. 17.

(§) *Address to Protest. Dissent.* p. 41.

„ duty ? „ (*) It is true that in the next page, he terms this very conduct of the clergy a *weak policy*; but this inconsistency only proves, that his ideas are as unsettled as his religion; it demonstrates the truth of what I expressed to him last year, „ that the man „ who has once abandoned sound principles, „ will never assume others, which are consistent. „ (†)

To exemplify the truth of this remark, he subjoins a note to this part of his work; and I leave the meaning of it to be unravelled by those, who can understand it. It commends the *moderation of our governors in an age of persecution*, and invites us to compare the behaviour of our countrymen *under more than common irritation of human passions* in the days of the moderate Elisabeth, with the conduct of the modern exiled clergy of France, *placed in circumstances of some difficulty and of greater oppression.* (§) I am quite bewildered amidst this jumble of confused elements, and I am equally at a loss to conceive,

(*) Mem. p. 16.

(†) Remarks on, &c. p. 108.

(§) See note p. 16. of Mem.

in what sense he qualifies the cause of the French convention with the epithets *great* and *noble*, while he acknowledges, that it is prosecuted with *despotism*, *intolerance*, and *deliberate barbarity*. Not all the acts of disrespect to royalty; not all the horrid deeds of schism, of rapine and profanation of sacred things could degrade the French revolution in Mr. Beringtons eyes; it was yet a *great* and *noble* cause, untill it was stained with royal, sacred and innocent blood. The truth is, the unanimous voice of England checked him in this place; it withheld him from stigmatizing the French clergy as papistical bigots and refractory subjects; and by a kind of retrograde oscillatory motion, he seems to stagger to their support, and in their favour, he demands *reparation to be made to innocence, virtue, justice*, and even to *manhood*. And why not as well, to infancy, youth, and old age? This muddled note may be recommended as a true model of modern philosophical writing; but where is the comparison between the British and the Gallic priesthood? In some points of view, it would seem that the advantage lies rather on the side of the French clergy. For not only a greater proportional number of them have preferred conscience to

interest; but hitherto they have also enjoyed the advantage and blessing of being united among themselves. If we could compare the persecutions, which these two bodies of men have sustained — but the wild rage, the frantic ferociousness of the sons of philosophy in France, outgo, beyond measure, whatever crimes we might attempt to confront with them from the annals of past ages; and yet the severity of Elisabeth was more deeply studied, more systematically pursued, more craftily concealed under the sanction of law, and was still not less unrelenting, than the modern effusions of jacobinism, which have stained France with the blood and have adorned England with the virtues of the Gallic priesthood. In one respect, the persecuted clergy of England in the days of Elisabeth may claim a pre-eminence; I mean, in the active zeal, which they displayed, to secure a succession of their ministry from foreign countries, when their cause became desperate at home; and in the magnanimous ardour, with which those wonderful men, undismayed by the slaughter of priests, under Henry VIII, continued to encounter death, in defence of their religion, for above the space of a century,

century. (a) We must wait the course of events, and see what missionary expeditions of the same kind the French clergy in process of time may be inspired to attempt. If they ever undertake them, they will be works of religious zeal, and therefore they will be opposed. They may even have their Beringtons hereafter, to condemn their labours and insult their sufferings, to trample upon their memory and arraign them as traitors, especially if they should succeed to establish houses of education in foreign countries, in order to perpetuate their missions. And this brings me to the origin of our transmarine seminaries, which Mr. Berington so loudly condemns.

I can easily account for his envenomed enmity to these seminaries. Twenty three years have now elapsed, since he made his first essay to ingraft the improvements of

(a) Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs of missionary priests*, &c. contain an account of above two hundred priests, and more than sixty lay men and women, executed on religious accounts, between the years 1577. and 1682; besides an immense number, who were condemned, or suffered imprisonment, confiscations or banishment on the same score.

modern philosophy upon the catholic tenets professed in their schools. But the old Roman stock would not coalesce with these exotics of recent importation; the soil was unfavorable to their growth, the withered branch was quickly lopped off and it was cast away. No doubt was ever entertained in the college at Douay, but that the *whole mass* of papal jurisdiction contained something that was an object of catholic faith; and of course, that the decrees of Elisabeth and her parliament, which had *overturned this whole mass* had affected something that was *primitive and divine*. The priests of that seminary never suspected, that it was *their christian duty to bow their heads in silent resignation*, that is, either to surrender their religion, or to cease to maintain and preach it, in submission to those laws. Here we have already more than is sufficient to disgust Mr. Berington with foreign seminaries, even though the superiors of them had not dismissed him from the chair, with which he had been complimented at Douay. But he derives all the grievances and sufferings of English catholics from these odious seminaries, and he commends the Queens gentleness to the professors of the old religion in the years, which preceded the foundation of them. If

all the clergy and laity had quietly acquiesced in Elisabeths reform, from a principle of *christian duty*, undoubtedly there would have been no persecution against the catholic religion. But Mr. Berington forgets the severe laws, which were enacted against it, and the executions to death for the crime of denying the Queens spiritual supremacy, which had ensued, before the seminaries had yet any existence : still more he forgets his own assertion relative to this very period, “ that
 ” to worship god after the old form was pro-
 ” hibited in public and private, and that the
 ” scheme of founding seminaries abroad, was
 ” the only means now left of preserving from
 ” utter ruin the small remains of catholicity
 ” in England. ” (*) I entirely agree with him, that the severity of those laws was more than doubled, when the seminary-priests entered upon the scene : for their appearance called forth a multitude of catholics, who, intimidated by persecution, had not dared publicly to profess their faith; and it is an undoubted truth, that if there now be a body of English catholics, to share the favours of government and Mr. Beringtons reproaches;

(*) See *State and Behav.* p. p. 25. and 171.

their existence is principally owing, under God, to the continuation of the catholic ministry, procured by the industrious zeal of Cardinal Allen and F. Robert Parsons. I might with justice call these men the two patriarchs of our present church. Their memory will be for ever in benediction; and in commemorating the blessings which they have entailed upon us, I hope it will one day be forgotten, that the chief of their illustrious seminaries had the misfortune to engender Mr. Berington. Their main object was to restore the catholic religion in England: Elisabeth and her ministers dreaded the success of their zeal; they counteracted it by multiplied precautions and penal laws; and these were directed, as well to crush the adherents to the old religion at home, as to exterminate the new preachers of it, who in defiance of penal rigours, came to support and to propagate it from abroad. They were not satisfied with this. The Queen, “ whose
 ” policy, says Mr. Berington, was to conciliate the minds of men, and not to divide
 ” them, ” (*) employed the more subtle and

(*) *Mem.* p. 18.

more efficacious measure of sowing divisions among the catholics, and in this, for their greater trial, providence permitted her to succeed. (a) The ecclesiastical annals of almost every nation, which has been converted to christianity, exhibit the impediments, which discord has every where opposed to the work of God; and I have before me a MS. treatise written by Parsons with respect to the period of which I am speaking, in which he details and deplures its effects, in language equally simple, pure and pathetic. Mr. Berington presumes to tell us on his own credit without proof, or at best, on the report of the most bitter enemies of Parsons, that this father was the source and author of the scissions, which disunited the exiled catholics; (*) and I tell Mr. Berington, that having read over a multitude of MS. writings and letters of Parsons, addressed to Popes, kings, cardinals, Bishops and the principal characters of the English

(a) I believe that the reader may find, in *Camden Annal.* P. II. an explicit avowal, that the disagreements among the catholics were craftily fomented by the Queens emissaries, especially by Bancroft Bishop of London; but I have not the book by me at present.

(*) Ibid. p. 24. — 84.

catholic clergy and laity, I find him every where like himself, glowing with zeal for the support and progress of catholicity, exhausting his credit for the relief of his distressed countrymen, undismayed by opposition, ever supporting spiritual authority, and continually inculcating due subordination, charity and peace, with motives and language, the most forcible, tender, and paternal. Mr. Berington asserts, " that with the sound of his name are " associated intrigue, device, stratagem, and " all the crooked policy of the machiavellian " school; " (*) and I answer him, that in this arbitrary character, he has only copied Camden, de Thou, Thoyras and Bayle, the avowed enemies of Parsons' religion and profession; while he blushes not to own, that he has not even read what has been related to the credit of his memory by catholic historians, who wrote at Rome, from original deeds, letters, and traditions of his contemporaries. He retails what a Mr. Mush (a) and a

(*) *Mem.* p. 25.

(a) John Mush, from being a menial servant, was advanced to the rank of a student convictor in the English college at Rome. For some years he petitioned to be admitted into the order of the Jesuits, but he was

few others have slanderously imputed to him; but he does not add, that these men were his professed enemies, and that they were wedded to a party, which equally opposed

constantly refused, on account of his turbulent behaviour in the college. He became an open enemy of the Jesuits, and he was a principal author of the disturbances, which ensued in England. He wrote the *Declaratio motuum*, &c. cited by Mr. Berington, in proof that Parsons was a Machiavellian. I have by me an ancient MS. entitled *Adnotationes breves in libellum quendam seditiosum, & infinitis calumniis refertum, presbyterorum quorundam nomine editum, qui inscribitur, Declaratio motuum*, &c. In this refutation of Mushes libel, frequent mention is made of the principal work written against the pretensions of the appellant priests, viz. *An apology in defense of ecclesiastical subordination*. This work ought to be read by whoever wishes to know the merits of that cause. Mr. Mush and Mr. Colleton were both suspended from the exercise of spiritual powers by the archpriest in the year 1600, on account of their conduct in the business of the appeal. They were both warm, even violent, in the cause; but they never thought of publishing throughout England a *solemn protest against their suspension, as against a measure arbitrary, unjust and uncanonical*. See the *address* of the Staffordshire priests. Dodd Vol. II. p. 255. records a protestation of Mush of a different nature, in which he protests, that he will submit to the decision of the Pope and that he will not oppose the authority of the archpriest, untill that decision be known. I find, by a letter of Henry Garnet written

Parsons and Allen, the Cardinals protectors, the Pope, and all the ecclesiastical superiors, who were appointed to govern them. Such glaring partiality must at once destroy his credit for historical veracity, and readers, who wish to form a fair judgment of this extraordinary man, will naturally compare Mr. Beringtons tale with the relations of Juvencius and Bartoli; and their trouble will be well requited, if they have any relish for the pure and eloquent languages of ancient and of modern Rome. (a) The whole life of Parsons was an uninterrupted series of labours and sufferings in the cause, which he had espoused; he was considered

in 1602. that Mush and Colleton had then made submission to the archpriest; and that, Garnet having gone to London purposely to meet Mr. Colleton, a reconciliation had ensued between them, in the presence of the archpriest and of Mr. Birket, who was his successor. See a letter of Mr. Colleton to Garnet, with the answer. *Appendix N^o. I.*

(a) These two authors are here mentioned, because their merit is decided. The curious reader may likewise find much information in Mores *Hist. Prov. Ang.* Bombinus *Vita Edm. Campiani*. Mathias Tannerus in *Personio*: and especially in Mangold, *Reflexiones in contin. hist. eccles. C. Fleurii*. T. III. ab init. ad p. 324.

as a principal agent in it, he was consulted and trusted in almost every measure, by the DD. Allen, Barrett, Blackwell, Mr. Gilbert and other acknowledged leaders in the catholic concerns; and he maintained with these men an intimate correspondence, friendship and union. The multiplication and supporting of seminaries abroad was the principal means, which they employed to secure success in their undertaking, and to this all their measures were directed. Parsons not only obtained pecuniary succours for the colleges of Rheims and Rome, but he found means to erect and settle more seminaries, than all the other catholic exiles together. In the prosecution of this business I cannot discover that partiality for his own body, with which Mr. Berington reproaches him (*). He had spent near twenty years in assisting or founding seminaries, for missionary clergymen, before he had a thought of establishing a single house for his own body. Indeed it was only about the beginning of the reign of James I., that the English Jesuits began to assume the appearance of a corporate body, which might either envy, or be envied by

(*) *Mem.* p. 27.

others. Untill that date, they had seldom more than twelve or fifteen individuals on the English mission at one time, all detached from foreign provinces of their society; while the seminary priests amounted to above three hundred. (a) The inconveniencies experienced by DD. Allen, Barrett, &c. from the admission of students, who were already advanced to manhood, suggested to Parsons the idea of forming a college, into which only boys should be admitted; from among whom, after their first education in piety and grammar, supplies for the other seminaries might be selected. He executed this plan first at Ville d'Eu, under the patronage of the duke of Guise, and afterwards under that of the King of Spain, at St. Omer; but in all this, he had not yet an idea of forming

(a) About this time a considerable number of Englishmen entered into the society of the Jesuits. In 1607, they obtained a house of noviciate at Watten in Flanders, and in 1616 a college for studies at Liege. In 1623 their general Vittelleschi formed them into a separate province, and named Richard Blunt or Blond their first provincial. In 1644 the English province numbered three hundred and fifty seven persons. In 1710 they were three hundred and fifty. In the latter years of their existence, they were about three hundred.

the English Jesuits into a distinct body in the order, and he placed his several seminaries under the direction of the Jesuits of the several countries, in which they were situated. This conduct of Parsons deserves a moment's consideration.

I believe the most partial enemies of the Jesuits will allow, that at least in the first outset of their society and during its primitive years, they had, among their contemporaries, a considerable degree of comparative merit. The rapid propagation of their order and their principal credit were derived from the colleges and schools, which they every where opened for the instruction of youth. Without comparing their colleges with the academies, which now flourish in the present improved state of learning, the Jesuits' schools in the sixteenth century were certainly reckoned the best, that were then known; and surely they must have had some merit, when they could excite the admiration of the first men of the age, even of our great philosopher Bacon. They had been placed at the head of the first seminary of the christian world, founded by Pope Pius IV in consequence of the decree of the council of Trent; and the

several national seminaries erected afterwards at Rome, had been entrusted to their direction. On the miscarriage of the first attempt to settle the new English seminary at Rome under Dr. Maurice Clenock, they had been called in, though after many demurs on the part of the Pope and the Cardinal protector, in compliance with the advice of Dr. Allen, and the almost unanimous petition of the students; (a) and if the other seminaries founded by Parsons at Seville, Valladolid, Ville d'Eu &c. were also consigned to them, it was either because other institutors were not to be found, or because they were esteemed to be the best qualified. I have seen letters of DD. Allen and Barrett, in which they plead their inability to furnish superiors and professors for the other seminaries, from that of Douay or Rheims;

(a) I give no account of the Jesuits being called to the government of the English college in Rome an 1579, though it is invidiously mentioned by Mr. Berington, because that event belongs to the history of the English catholic church, which I am not writing. I possess however authentic and ample documents about it, which demonstrate, that ambition and intrigue had no share in that measure, which was recommended by prudence and necessity, and was adopted after the most mature deliberation.

not because the house was unprovided of men adequate to those employments, but because their services were essentially required in their own house, or in the English mission. So little did Parsons aim at the aggrandisement of English Jesuits in these dispositions, that he always preferred foreigners in the government of his seminaries, in order to spare the few English Jesuits for the great work of the mission. I have his letters to F. Creswell, in which he rebukes him, rather with severity, for his attempt to procure the appointment of English superiors in the seminaries of Seville and Valladolid, while Spanish Jesuits were willing and able to yield that service to the common cause. After the settlement of the seminary at Rome under the first Jesuit rector Agazzari, a most strict correspondence was established between that father and Dr. Allen, (a) who had been called to Rome, by the advice of Parsons, to superintend the business; and a mutual intercourse of good offices, and an order for the exchange of students was settled, Allen still being considered as the principal superior and conductor of the whole work. During this happy state

(a) I have copies of many of their letters.

of the colleges, piety and study flourished, and a long list of priests sealed their faith with their blood in England : and as they were regarded in every catholic country as martyrs, their sufferings and death brought to their colleges veneration, respect, credit, protection and benefactions. (a) But the

(a) Mr. Berington and Sir J. Throckmorton have laboured to convince us, that these priests were not executed on religious accounts, but for political opinions, which endangered the state. It is a very ancient practice of the enemies of the catholic church, to calumniate her martyrs, in order to rob them of the credit of having died for their religion. It has been employed at different times, by Nero, by the Arians, by the apostate Julian, by the ministers of Queen Elisabeth, and by the *septembriseurs* of regenerated Paris; and their impostures have been defended by Dodwell, by Camden, by Lord Burleigh, by Gibbons and by the *sansculottes* orators of the Gallic convention. Which of all these is Mr. Beringtons model? The most recent example has usually the greatest influence upon imitators. I appeal to the conscience of whoever has read Bishop Challoners *Memoirs of missionary priests*, whether these *Memoirs* deserve to be considered as a calendar of Newgate felons. Of nearly three hundred priests condemned on the penal laws, very few indeed were accused of any other crime, than that of denying the royal ecclesiastical supremacy, of having received holy orders, and residing in England. In the few instances, in which treason was imputed, as in the case of Campion and his companions, it was not proved, and

spirit of disunion came to disturb their tranquillity.

It may be curious to trace this spirit up to its first seeds, because they continued to fructify in various shapes and places, from the period, of which I am speaking, to the happy settlement of our ecclesiastical government under four apostolical vicars, in the short reign of James II. And if the inquisitive searcher might perhaps discover some faint traces of it, even in the present century; it is at least certain, that no remarkable difference had distracted our church since the accession of James, untill a late attempt to force upon

Camden himself acknowledges, that the Queen, who signed their death-warrant, believed them to be innocent. *Plerosque tamen ex misellis his sacerdotibus exitii in patriam conflagandi conscios fuisse non credidit.* Annal. Elis. p. 327. Ed. 1615. To make good the assertions of Mr. Berington and Sir J. Throckmorton, it should be proved, that the priests were arraigned, condemned and executed for maintaining the deposing power of the Pope; and even thus it would follow, that they were punished merely for opinion, and for an opinion which, in their days, was almost universal. But the evidence of the fact shews, that priesthood was their only guilt. See Cardinal Allens *Sincere and modest Defense of the suffering catholics*, a victorious refutation of Lord Burleighs *Execution of justice in England*.

us an inadmissible oath produced an ill-advised resistance to spiritual authority, which Mr. Berington continues to prosecute by his still outstanding *Protest*, against the decisions of our senior Bishop. It may first be observed, that among the multitude of English lay subjects, whom the penal laws of Elisabeth drove from their own country into Flanders, France, Italy and Spain, a few conceived themselves qualified by rank and family to take a leading part in the councils of the catholic princes, who interested themselves in their cause; while far the greatest number, being poor and distressed, brought with them the claims of faultless poverty, and that querulous disposition, which so commonly attends the disappointment of its hopes. On another hand, the decay of learning in the universities, which, by M. Beringtons own account from Jewel Collier and Heylin, followed the establishment of Elisabeths reformation; and perhaps, in some cases, the fondness of change, impelled numbers of young students to resume the old religion, and to resort to the new national seminaries founded in foreign parts. The necessary rejection of many of these postulants increased the gathering mass of discontent, while the strict domestic discipline,

pline, which the Jesuits enforced, especially at Rome, was little suited to the unrestrained habits of young emigrants from Cambridge and from Oxford. Many of these were but newly converted to the catholic religion, and it could hardly be expected in such circumstances, that young men, who had now passed their nonage, would easily relinquish acquired habits, and bend their reluctant minds to the precision of momentary obedience, and to that strictness of discipline, which was required in a school of martyrdom. (a) Persons, who have studied in catholic seminaries, will easily understand what is here said upon this subject; and those who are in any degree acquainted with the history of the colleges of Douay and of Rome, are not ignorant, that this was the greatest obstacle, which the first superiors experienced in modelling their seminaries to the

(a) The seminarists at this time were universally revered, as candidates of martyrdom. See Baronius *Martyrol. Rom.* 29 Dec. It is recorded, that St. Philip Neri, who lived in the neighbourhood of the English seminary in Rome, would frequently stand near the door of the house, to view the students going forth to the public schools. The saint used to bow to them and salute them with the words, *Salvete flores martyrum.*

punctuality of regular discipline. Indeed they never could surmount it, untill in process of time, they admitted only children, whose tender minds easily submitted to carry from their youth, the yoke of regular discipline and subordination. In the early times, though Allen, Barrett, Parsons and Agazzari continually recommended to each other prudence and wariness in the admission of postulants; yet the great numbers who flocked to them, and their unwillingness to disoblige such postulants frequently precluded the necessary discernment; and they often accepted persons of untoward dispositions and factious tempers, sometimes even pretended converts and emissaries of the British ministry, who came purposely to create jealousies and to foment discord. Hence frequent transmissions of students from one seminary to another, and, as a last remedy, frequent expulsions of the factious ensued. The dismissed members, generally destitute of the means of easy subsistence, herded with other exiles in similar situations, and they inflamed their mutual discontent against the persons, by whom they conceived themselves to have been aggrieved. (a)

(a) The reader will observe, that the character here given of some of the postulants who resorted to the se-

Rome at this period, as well as Paris and Bruxelles, never was without a party of this description, among the catholic exiles; and I have promised to trace that party up to its primitive source.

minaries, must be confined to a number comparatively small. The far greater number were men of sound principles and virtue; and with the education of the seminaries, they became christian heroes. Many of the brightest lights of the seminaries had been masters or students in the two universities, viz. DD. William Allen, Morgan Philips, Richard Bristow, Gregory Martin, William Reynolds, Laurence Webb, Thomas Bayley, &c. besides the FF. John Hart, Robert Parsons, Edmond Campion, and many others.

An ancient MS. now before me, recounts, that though Dr. Allen had agreed not to send students to Rome advanced beyond the age of eighteen or twenty years; yet on the arrival of fifty postulants in one month at Rheims, he deviated from his usual practice, and sent thirteen students thither, who were all full grown men. This mission, says the relation, did not quite answer the good Doctors views. For though several of them succeeded to his utmost wishes, yet others soon found the discipline of the college too minutious and strict for grown men; they complained that it was fit only for children. Hence uneasinesses began to appear, which afterwards ripened into open discord and revolt. Among these men was Dr. Christopher Bagshaw, so much cited and commended by Mr. Berington. Dr. Barrett at that time prefect of the studies, and afterwards president of

It seems to have originated in the displeasure of Dr. Owen Lewis, a Welch clergyman of distinction, who had obtained the archdeaconry of Hainault in the diocese of Cambray. This gentleman, before the alteration of the English

the college at Rheims, upon the occasion of these students being sent to Rome, wrote the following words to the rector Agazzari, Aug. 17. 1583. “ Qui veniunt ad vos
 „ hoc tempore, sunt ex præstantissimis omnium, quos hic
 „ habemus. Quidam eorum, qui & ætate & ingenio
 „ cæteris antecellunt, erunt forte paulo vobis molestiores.
 „ Certe nisi magna fiat mutatio, præsertim in uno eorum,
 „ difficile præbebit tuæ Reverentiæ negotium. Is est
 „ Christophorus Bagshæus. Bonum habet ingenium &
 „ satis aptum ad studia, sed valde est iracundus & difficilis
 „ & inquietus. Profitetur tamen se istas & alias multas im-
 „ perfectiones velle deponere, & propterea cupere ad vos
 „ proficisci..... Tua prudentia opus est, ut dextere
 „ omnino cum eo agatur; nam apud nos, ne minimum
 „ quidem verbum ferre potuit, quod reprehensionem ali-
 „ quam sonaret vel admonitionem. „ Agreeably to the
 judgment of Dr. Barrett, his behaviour was so intolerably
 disorderly, that after a trial of fifteen months, the Car-
 dinal protector came in person to the college, and dis-
 missed him. From this date the violent hatred commenced,
 with which he ever after persecuted the Jesuits. At his
 departure, the rector used all means to pacify him. He
 added a handsome present in money to the usual viaticum
 allowed to departing students; and he spent this money,
 on his return, in procuring, without licence from his
 superiors, the title of Doctor at Padua, though he had

hospital at Rome into a college, had attempted, in conjunction with his countryman Dr. Maurice Clenock, to introduce a Welchman of the name of Price, as fellow into the hospital; and he had been foiled in the attempt, through the opposition of the English chaplains of the house, who had interest enough to procure from the Pope a forbiddance to admit the candidate. This petty disappointment was not yet forgotten, when a national quarrel broke out between the English and Welch students newly admitted into the college, in which Dr. Lewis failed not warmly to espouse the cause of his countrymen, and to represent the English, who solicited the removal of the first superior Dr. Clenock, as factious and turbulent. His

studied only one year in divinity. Dr. Allen was so displeased at this, that he rejected his request to be readmitted into the college at Rheims, and suffered him to proceed to England. The Jesuits took uncommon pains to keep peace with this angry man: they offered to submit to any terms of reconciliation. At Paris the Popes Nunzio in vain interposed his good offices to obtain it, on account of the scandal, which his behaviour occasioned. In England he shewed the same unrelenting temper, even in the prison at Wisbich, and he paved the way to those disturbances, which ensued several years after, in the business of the appellants.

credit with the Cardinal protector supported Clenock a considerable time : but when the cause was at length determined and the college was committed to the care of the Jesuits, Dr. Lewis felt the uneasinesses which so frequently accompany a diminution of interest and credit, and he conceived a violent disgust against the Jesuits, which he seems to have retained to his death. This may be conceived, without any prejudice to the virtuous and literary endowments, which he otherwise possessed. He was moreover soured by the expulsion of his nephew Hugh Griffin from the college for disorderly behaviour, and he had exerted in vain his whole force and credit to prevent it. By his disapprobation of the new settlement of the college, he found himself in opposition to the most distinguished personages among the English exiles at Rome, and he connected himself with men, whom they mistrusted. Among these, there was a Sir Thomas Stukeley, a romantic adventurer, who by adopting all the doctors ideas, entirely won his confidence. By promising to achieve great things in Ireland in favour of the catholic cause, he interested the zeal of Lewis in the support of his ill-advised projects; and he even obtained at Rome, through his credit,

a considerable sum of money, which he soon after foolishly squandered in the expedition of Don Sebastian into Africa, where he perished in the unfortunate battle against Muley Hamet. The misconduct of this man and the miscarriage of his schemes lowered the credit of Dr. Lewis in the Popes court, as much as his misplaced confidence had impaired it among the English catholic exiles. The principal persons among them had always disapproved the wild projects of Stukeley, and they equally blamed the confidence which Dr. Lewis placed in another intimate, Lesley Bishop of Ross, whose flattering letters to Queen Elizabeth had given great dissatisfaction to them, and especially to Dr. Goodwell Bishop of St. Asaph, and to Sir Richard Shelley Lord Prior of England, of the order of the knights of Malta. (a) Nicolas Fitzherbert a gentleman, and one Solomon Aldred (b), who had been an obscure

(a) Sir Richard Shelly wrote a comment upon these letters of Bishop Lesley, of which I possess a copy.

(b) This Aldred was a spy of Sir Francis Walsingham, by whom he was furnished with money. Being detected at Rome, he escaped by flight to London, where he was taken into the ministers family, and publicly professed the protestant religion.

mecanic at Lyons, and had obtained a pension at Rome through the interest of Dr. Lewis, were also among his friends, and the rest of the English resident in Rome considered them as forming a separate party. It was soon after increased by the accession of Charles Paget, and Thomas Morgan, two gentlemen, who resided at Paris. Others by degrees were associated to them; and as the seminaries then constituted a considerable part of the English catholic interest abroad, they left no means untried, to secure to themselves a party within their walls, and to harass the superiors, who were charged with the difficult task of conducting them. Every student in the college at Rome, who felt any uneasiness or discontent, especially the Welch, found patronage in this party, and fatal effects of their secret correspondence were experienced in the disturbances, which afterwards distracted that seminary. At Rome however the growing party was soon weakened: for it was not only discountenanced by the Bishop of St. Asaph, Sir William Shelley, the Lord Prior, Mr. Licentiate Ely, Dr. Parker brother to the Lord Morley and every other Englishman of note in the city, but Dr. Lewis also retired in disgust

disgust to Milan (a), and Dr. Clenock to Rouen, where soon after he took shipping for Spain, and was drowned at sea.

But the strongest opposition which Dr. Allen, Parsons and their friends experienced, arose from Mr. Paget, who has just been mentioned, and I find the original cause of this gentleman's alienation assigned in a writing of Parsons, which is also confirmed by an ancient Italian MS. now in my possession. Mr. Paget living in Paris became acquainted with Morgan a native of Wales, who, while he was in the service of the earl of Shrewsbury, had obtained the confidence of the captive Queen of Scotland. They were both connected in friendship with her two secretaries Nau and Curl, and as Parsons says, "opposing themselves secretly against the archbishop of Glascow ambassador for the Queen, they

(a) Dr. Lewis, after his departure from Rome, was a grand vicar in the diocese of Milan, under St. Charles Boromeo, and was at length promoted to the bishopric of Cassano. He resigned his archdeaconry of Cambray in favour of his nephew Hugh Griffin, who has been mentioned, and who, after his dismissal from the English college found frequent opportunities of shewing his antipathy to his ancient masters.

„ broke his credit much with the said Queen,
 „ and wrung from him in time the adminif-
 „ tration of the Queens dowry in France,
 „ which was fome thirty thouſand crowns a
 „ yeare; by which they were able to pleaſure
 „ much their friends, and hinder their ad-
 „ verſaries : and then joining themſelves with
 „ Dr. Lewis in Rome, and falling out with
 „ Dr. Allen and F. Parsons, they were the
 „ cauſe of much diviſion among catholics,
 „ which hitherto hath endured.” Now it
 happened, that on the return of the jeſuit
 Creighton from Scotland to Paris, a consulta-
 tion was held on the concerns of the young
 king of Scotland and his captive mother, by
 the Biſhop of Bergamo nunzio at the French
 court, the archbiſhop of Glaſcow, the Spaniſh
 ambaffador and the duke of Guiſe; and
 to this conſultation Dr. Allen and Claude
 Matthieu provincial of the French jeſuits
 were introduced. The archbiſhop of Glaſcow
 would not permit Paget to be invited to it,
 and this omiſſion was deemed by him an un-
 pardonable affront. The reſult of the con-
 ſultation was, that Creighton ſhould be diſpat-
 ched to Rome and Parsons to Madrid, to
 ſollicit at thoſe courts relief for the young
 king; and it was upon this occaſion that the

latter procured for him an annual allowance of twelve thousand crowns, besides a donation for the seminary at Rheims, and moreover established a credit at the Spanish court, of which he afterwards availed himself for the foundation of his seminaries. Paget and Morgan already irritated that the business had been concealed from them, were still more angered, to see the management of it entrusted to two jesuits. The truth was, says my MS. that the archbishop and the duke of Guise mistrusted these two gentlemen, believing that they held secret correspondence with the English ministry; while the captive Queen, contrary to their advice, corresponded with them by means of her two secretaries, and thus seemed to withdraw her confidence from the duke and the archbishop, who justly thought themselves her best friends. Hence Paget, Morgan, the two secretaries, and a few others connected with them, inveighed bitterly against the priests, especially Dr. Allen, and they strongly insisted, that neither he, nor any clergyman or religious, but only secular gentlemen, ought to manage the affairs of the Scottish Queen, and other matters of public concern, in the courts of catholic princes. From this time they stood in open opposition

to whatever Allen or Parsons undertook; they seemed to take a delight in disappointing them. (a) Their party was strengthened by every discontented priest or student, who had quitted or had been dismissed from the seminaries; and my MS. adds, that the English ministry perceiving this beginning of disunion among the catholics, fomented it by all the arts of industry and address. (b) Allen and

(a) At this time, the three young sons of the earl of Northumberland were at Paris, and the Queen who had resolved to ruin their father, had required, that at least the eldest should return home. The earl sent over a friend, Dr. Pullen, to Paris, who consulting Dr. Allen and Parsons, was advised by them to permit the youths to retire into Italy, where, without endangering their fathers life or the property of the family, means would be contrived to detain them, untill they had attained a riper age, and were thoroughly grounded in religion. The earl consented to this scheme, and only required that it should be executed with the knowledge of Mr. Paget. This gentleman finding that Allen and Parsons had advised it, immediately sent the youths to England, where they were educated in the reformed religion, while their father was committed to the tower, where, some time after, he was found murdered in his bed.

(b) Among the friends of Mr. Paget there was not a more unrelenting enemy of Parsons and the Jesuits, than Dr. William Gifford, archdeacon of St. Peters at Lille. This gentleman repelled all Parsons' advances to-

Parsons dreading the consequence of this disunion repaired to Paris, where they met the Lord Paget, who with many other gen-

wards a reconciliation; he would not even answer his letters. After the pacification of the English college, the repentant students surrendered to Parsons the letters, which they had received from the discontented party, who had earnestly recommended to them to conceal the names of the writers. From these originals Parsons extracted several passages, and by the advice of the Cardinal protector, sent them to the principal author Dr. Gifford accompanied by a kind and pacific letter, which ends thus. " And
 „ now, Sir, I see but two wayes for you to choose; the
 „ one, to set yourself to prove these things that you
 „ have avouched of our fathers, if you can; or else to
 „ give some manner of satisfaction to them, laying the
 „ faulte upon mistaking, misinformation, or the like.
 „ But the best satisfaction of all, would be, to leave
 „ off this course of contradiction, and to attend to peace
 „ and union in our nation, for the tyme to come; for
 „ that our divisions are odious both to God and man,
 „ and none can abide now to heare of them, or of any,
 „ that will foster them „ &c. 20 Dec. 1597. Several
 of his accusations of the Jesuits had been made public in
 a pretended *Memorial to Clement VIII. in Certayne chiefe
 pointes of accusation, &c. in the Relation of the contention
 passed in Wisbich, &c.* and they are as ridiculously extra-
 vagant, as any thing that is found in the *arrets* of the
 late French Parliaments, or in the prefaces of Mr. Be-
 rington. Thus, *The Jesuits have in their insatiable desyre
 already swallowed up kingdoms and monarchies. Rel. p. 76.
 The pride of the society, arming itselfe with authoritie of*

lemen of note had retired to the continent, to shun the fury of persecution. He had been prevented; but he promised them not to fa-

his Holiness, will powre out a ful revenge, and make an infinite slaughter and massaker of soules, as already they have begun in wretched England. Ibid. art. 7. The Jesuites doe eagerly waite for the deathe of the Pope and of the renowned Cardinal Toledo, that they may bring upon all slaughter and bloodshed, as they have long assayed, &c.

W. Gifford ep. 29 Sep. 1596. *The greatest part of the nobilitie and cleargie do bewaile their most miserable estate, in that they suffer more grevous things under these new tyrants the Jesuites, than by all their other grevous dailie persecutions. W. Gifford ep. ad Marc., &c. F. Holt and his companions in Planders have gathered such an infinite masse of money of the catholiks in England, for dispensations, or under the colour of expending it to their uses, as many credibly affirmed it to exceed the sume of fifty thousand pounds.*

W. Gifford ep. ad Marc. aug. 8. 1596. The Doctor having asserted in a latin letter that the sum exceeded *ducenta millia* of Italian scudis; Dr. Bagshaw translated the phrase by the words *two hundred millions of Italian scudes*, and inserted them in his *true relation* which Mr. Berington cites. It may be hoped that Dr. Gifford followed the advice of Parsons; for though his name stands among the appellants, I do not learn that after this period he took any very active part in their concerns; and in 1602 I find the Jesuits complaining of Watson and others, for republishing the story and the contents of his letters, which, they hoped, were then buried in oblivion. Dr. Gifford, though liable to passionate prejudices, possessed learning and other good qualities. It

your or promote his brothers party, while the other new exiles, convinced that Mr. Paget and Morgan held an intercourse with Elisabeths ministers, highly disapproved their measures. But Allen and Parsons omitted nothing to stifle this spirit of discord in its source. They addressed the most earnest and confidential letters to Paget and Morgan, and afterwards returned to Paris on purpose to confer with them and to induce them to an amicable

is recorded of him, that he was charitable to the poor. In 1606 he became a Benedictin monk, and by his connexions with the family of Guise, he was made coadjutor to the Cardinal de Guise archbishop of Rheims, with a design that he might hold that see for a minor prince of the family: but he succeeded to the Cardinal in 1622, and governed the diocese with repute till his death in 1629.

His kinsman Gilbert Gifford was a known agent of the English ministry in the concerns of the catholics. Being apprehended through the interest of the Bishop of Paris, he acknowledged, that he had been employed by the discontented catholics in a negociation with the ministry, to procure the utter expulsion of the Jesuits from the English mission. He ended his life in confinement. Robert Fisher, one of his most active associates, was seized at Rome and owned upon oath in his examination, that he had been employed on similar services. He was one of the most violent of the appellant priests, but is said to have repented of his connexions with them and the whole dissatisfied party.

composition. Dr. Allen, as a mark of confidence, lodged in the same house with them; and they both engaged the duke of Guise and the archbishop of Glasgow to interpose their kind offices, to effect a reconciliation. But this was desired only on their side; and they sustained the mortification of seeing all their advances rejected with disdain. Their concern was the more bitter, because the consequences of this disunion were now sorely felt in the seminaries of Rheims and Rome, where every student, who was wearied with regular discipline or disgusted with study, was caressed by the friends of Mr. Paget, and encouraged to hold up his head against the superior of the house. Lenient measures were employed to reclaim them; and upon the failure of these, several of them were civilly dismissed *sub nomine missionis*, before they had completed their studies. But evil effects again ensued from this measure; for though some of these unripened missionaries demeaned themselves with credit and edification in England, yet the indiscretions of others proved the remedy to be almost as dangerous as the disease. (a)

(a) On this subject I find a letter from F. Holt to the rector of the college at Rome in these words.

But

But this, within a few years, from the causes which I have detailed, arose to an alarming height. The disorderly scholars would submit to no discipline, no controul. They claimed and assumed the liberty of frequenting taverns, they murmured, they even tumultuated against their superiors, they required the government of the house to be abandoned to themselves, and unfortunately in these pretensions they were encouraged from without. Every method, which patience, steadiness and authority could suggest, was tried in vain. The rector and the gene-

„ Unum est, quod ab ingressu meo in Angliam sæpe mihi
 „ in mentem venit; idque non sine causa R. V. significare
 „ decrevi, si quando possem, quod nunc possum: in
 „ missionibus scilicet vestris, non tam esse opus celeritate,
 „ quàm eorum, qui mittuntur, maturitate, prudentia,
 „ doctrinâ & fervore spiritûs. Agnosco ego quidem
 „ certe R. V. prudentiam non indigere admonitione meâ;
 „ agnosco & onera, quæ quandoque ita gravia sunt, ut
 „ sublevari ea sit necesse; agnosco satis fervorem alum-
 „ norum, qui pedibus pruriunt, ut ad equuleos currant;
 „ & si quid est, quod ad collegii tranquillitatem & pacem
 „ spectat, id ipsum cogito etiam & commendo. His tamen
 „ omnibus serio consideratis sæpius & perpensis, nec R. V.
 „ præscribo, nec illos deterreo, sed utrisque consulo, nec
 „ vobis solum, sed catholicis omnibus vestrâ operâ juvan-
 „ dis, opus esse in missionibus, devotionis prudentiæ &
 „ doctrinæ maturitate, potius quàm celeritate „.....

ral of the Jesuits often determined to resign the government of the seminary, and they were as often hindered by the remonstrances and advice of the chiefs of the catholic clergy and laity, and by the positive injunctions of the Pope, whose councils were now much occupied by the disturbances of the English college. No remedy was found, but in the admirable prudence and mild steadiness of F. Parsons; he was named the rector; he dismissed some, he soothed others, he was a father to all, he reduced the college to its first regularity, and he governed it with success till his death.

Among the discontented students, who at various times were discharged, several continued to be supported from the seminaries, untill they could be settled in other habits of life; (a) while others returning into England,

(a) The exiles were continually soliciting the interest or the generosity of the superiors of the seminaries. Both were exerted in their service, and were often requited by complaints and ingratitude; not to mention the great avocation from domestic business, which this charity occasioned. Dr. Allen at length advised Agazzari and Parsons to give them what they could afford, but never more to take charge of their pecuniary concerns or memorials to the Pope and other great personages. This is the subject of many of

renounced their religion and enlisted themselves as spies in the service of the Queens ministers. Though several instances of this nature occur, I do not wish to hint, that such a character of profligacy is to be affixed in general to the opponents of Parsons and Allen. I know that some of the declared opponents, especially of Parsons and the Jesuits, were men respectable for their rank, or their learning, or their sufferings in the cause of religion; but it is equally true, that on many occasions they acted under the influence of strong passions, which disappointments or prejudices had inflamed; and they had the weakness to throw themselves into a small but violent party of men of less worth than themselves, whose excesses they were thus engaged to dissemble, or even to appropriate to themselves. They were in all but an handful, when compared with the bulk of the venerable missionaries and exiled catholics, who applauded the measures pursued at Rome and at Rheims for the common cause; but still they were widely diffused, and

their letters, which I have seen. The General Acquaviva who had himself petitioned to be sent to the English mission, consigned to the relief of the exiles or of the seminaries, the sums of money, which were occasionally left by English catholics at his disposal.

the factious temper of some broke out, even under the pressure of chains, in Wisbich castle. Nothing more false than Mr. Beringtons intimation, that the uneasinesses in that prison arose from the ambitious policy of F. Weston, one of the most excellent missionaries of his age; nothing more partial, than his citation of the passionate Bagshaws *relation*, in proof of what he insinuates. From all other cotemporary accounts, which I have seen, it appears that a few of the imprisoned priests and laymen were men of untamed passions, who constantly opposed the pious wish of the great majority of their fellow captives, to sanctify their confinement by a regular and uniform system of study and devotion. They desired to chuse a common superior, by whom they wished to be regulated according to the rules, which they themselves had framed; and as F. Weston seems to have been the man most generally respected among them, they desired to confer upon him this kind of superiority. (a) I refer

(a) F. Weston refused to accept of this slight pre-eminence. Eighteen of the imprisoned priests addressed a letter to his superior Henry Garnet (see Append. N^o. II.) to engage him to order Weston to comply. Garnet consented, that he might be the director of their studies and other regular observances, according to their own

the reader to the Appendix N^o. II. for further proof, that the accusation of ambition, which was preferred against the Jesuits upon this occasion, was the language of factious discontent; and I further remark, that the prior and subsequent conduct of the few turbulent prisoners at Wisbich, who did not make atonement for their fault, was such as no clergyman, not even Mr. Berington, in his most anti-jesuitical humours, could possibly approve. (a)

It appears then, that there are motives to mistrust, to arraign and condemn the fidelity and correctness of the general picture, which Mr. Berington has presented to us of the

rules, but would not consent, that he should hold either the title, rank or precedence of a superior, in any of their public meetings, meals, &c.

(a) Of thirty five catholic prisoners confined in Wisbich castle, ten or twelve, partly priests, partly laymen, sided with Bagshaw to disturb the tranquillity of the rest, and to calumniate their friend F. Weston. Four of these men repented and atoned for their misbehaviour. It was remarked, that most of the others ended unhappily. One was struck with an apoplexy and died senseless in the prison. Others renounced their religion, and practised the vile trade of informers and priest-catchers. Some of these were afterwards executed for various crimes.

transactions of those times. The curious in-
 quirer who wishes to know the truth, will
 certainly examine other sources of informa-
 tion, and he will as certainly discover the
 most decisive motives to reject his history of
 the nomination of Dr. Blackwell to be arch-
 priest, and his account of the various distur-
 bances, which were made by the appellants
 in consequence of that appointment. He will
 first observe, that Mr. Beringtons account of
 the supposed policy of Parsons in this bu-
 siness hangs solely upon his own deep *insight*
into the human heart, or at farthest, on the
 credit of the *true relation* of Bagshaw. Other
 historians, whose accounts I could amply con-
 firm from cotemporary MSS. if I were writing
 an history, will inform him, that the necessity
 of establishing a regular ecclesiastical authority
 among the missionaries in England had been
 felt for some years, and had been the subject
 of frequent debates in the councils of the holy
 see. During the life of Cardinal Allen, this
 necessity was less urgent, because his extraor-
 dinary merit had secured to him a pre-eminence
 of authority, without any special commission;
 and in almost every measure, his advice
 was asked and commonly was honoured with
 compliance. After his decease, the increasing

number of priests, and the spreading discontents, which had been imported from the continent, called for a government of more energy, and the difficulty was, what form to adopt. Two modern discoveries lately made by Mr. Berington and his patron Sir John Throckmorton, were then perfectly unknown. Not a man among the English catholics had yet an idea, that the government of the old English catholic church had been continued without interruption, though all its Bishops and dignitaries, vested with spiritual jurisdiction, were dead; nor did they in that age suspect, that spiritual jurisdiction could exist, unless it emanated from the Bishop of Rome. In a word, Mr. Berington having informed us, that *all religious instruction is progressive, and that all was not to be given at once*; (*) he must not wonder, that his ancestors in the sixteenth century were ignorant of the great principle, which was reserved for his discovery in these latter days of light; I mean, that every pastor, by the divinely established order of Christ, is possessed of a proper and essential jurisdiction, wholly uncontrollable by and independent of the see of

(*) *Reflect. &c. to J. H. p. 45.*

„ Rome. „ (*) Still less did these men suspect the existence of Sir John Throckmortons rule, that they might lawfully or validly establish among themselves an episcopal poll, independently of the see of Rome; and it is perfectly ridiculous in Mr. Berington to blame them for not adopting this measure, (†) which, had it been named among them, would, in that dark age, have been accounted schism. Frequent mention is indeed made in the MSS. of those times and also by several historians, of a project laid by some priests, to institute a congregation of clergymen, to be governed by two superiors, in the northern and southern counties, and their design, it is said, was, to subject all the missionaries, religious as well as secular, to their controul. But this plan seems not to have been countenanced by the bulk of the missionaries; the Jesuits complained of it, and they seem to have considered it as a project, contrived by a few of their enemies, to expel them from the mission. It was also disliked by many of the laity, who found, that it would operate as a restraint upon their liberty of addressing themselves to whom they

(*) *State and Behav. of R. C.* p. 153.

(†) *Mem.* p. 43. 44.

liked best among the approved priests, in their spiritual concerns. The body of the English catholics then looked up to the Pope, nor did the Pope trifle with them, or abandon them to the ambitious wiles of a macchiavellian Jesuit, as Mr. Berington is pleased to assert. On the contrary, advice and informations were taken from those, who were deemed the wisest among the Cardinals at Rome and others, who were best acquainted with the concerns of the nation; the business was debated in frequent congregations; and at length, after the most mature deliberation, Dr. Blackwell was appointed archpriest. I do not say that this was the best mode of government; nay, if I had been in their councils, I am confident that I should have advised the appointment of a Bishop. Certain it is, that Parsons, to whom Mr. Berington ascribes the *presbyterian* (*) invention of an archpriest, was decidedly of this opinion; (a) and it was

(*) *Mem.* p. 48.

(a) It is difficult to understand, how the government by an archpriest resembled the presbyterian system. The archpriest was not merely a *primus inter pares*, nor yet an *elder by election*. He was a true spiritual superior, vested with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, derived, not from his equals, but from an acknowledged superior, the head

undoubtedly grounded on the solid basis of the regular government of the church. But those, who over-ruled it in the councils of the Pope, conceived, that the peculiar situation of religion in England authorised a deviation from the established practice. They found it even impossible to observe the several canonical institutions, which regard the establishment of a diocese; and they apprehended, that the presence of a Bishop in England would tend to irritate the ministry and still more to exasperate the Bishops of the newly established church, and would thus provoke an increase of persecution. All the vigilance of the government, they said, will be directed against the Bishop; catholics will dread to receive him into their houses; they would

of the church. If a council of assistants was allotted to him for the management of business; such a check upon his power ought not to be disrelished by Mr. Berington. An ordinary diocesan Bishop would not have been subject to such a restraint, in the ordinary administration of his diocese. Parsons delivered in writing, under nine heads, the reasons which induced him to prefer a Bishop. If Mr. Berington chuses to impute this to a refinement of machiavellian hypocrisy; it will be needless to contradict him, while every sober man must find him guilty of a refinement of partiality, joined to the blindest prejudice.

surely be involved in the punishment that will await him, and which it is morally impossible that he should escape, unless by absolute concealment of his person; and this again will render his ministry almost fruitless. Still greater would be the misfortune, if the severity of persecution should intimidate a Bishop into any compliance unworthy of his ministry, which, in a simple priest, would be an evil of less scandal to catholics, and a subject of less triumph to protestants. (a) One Bishop, they continued, is unequal to the whole duty of inspecting so large and widely diffused a flock; and to multiply Bishops would be also to multiply the difficulties already alledged, besides the danger of their variation from one another in opinions and measures; from whence still greater dissensions would arise, than those which the new government is designed to stifle and eradicate. But the reason, by which the Pope was chiefly influenced, was his knowledge, that the principal petitioners for a Bishop held a private correspondence with the Queens ministers, to whom, he knew that all means of extirpating catho-

(a) The subsequent weakness of Blackwell proved, that this apprehension was not quite groundless.

licity were equally welcome, and who were now plainly fomenting the unhappy differences among the catholics, by supporting the pretensions of a party, whom they certainly intended to overwhelm, together with their opponents, in one common destruction. The cautious pontiff would not concur in a measure, which Elisabeth patronised; he thought that marks of restlessness and ambition were discernible in some of the petitioners, and he resolved to provide for the government of the English catholic church, in the most peaceable and private manner, which the actual circumstances also rendered the most prudent. The Cardinal protector, who was supposed to be best acquainted with the merits of the principal clergymen, was empowered to chuse the new superior; and if a bull was not expedited upon this occasion, the omission did not proceed, as Mr. Berington pretends, from a motive of contempt: it was omitted, because the formality of a public appointment would have defeated the Popes prudential views; because it would probably have provoked the British government, and would have pointed out the person of the new superior as the object of their resentment; and because it was rather a measure of expe-

riment, which circumstances might easily subject to alteration, than a system calculated for permanent duration. Mr. Berington is quite in the wrong, either wilfully or otherwise, to tell us, that bulls are issued on every trivial occasion. (a) If Rome did not alter its determination, in compliance with the clamours of the appellants, the refusal to do it was grounded upon solid motives; because those men did not alledge reasons sufficient to outbalance the motives, which had recommended the adopted measure; because they conducted themselves with a spirit of turbulence rather than of remonstrance; because they daringly refused submission to an authority lawfully constituted; because several of them had already been remarked for the tumultuous spirit, which they had betrayed in the colleges; because others were known to have concerted their opposition with the English ministry and the protestant Bishop Bancroft; and finally because they were not the body of the catholic clergy, as Mr. Berington

/(a) The form of a bull was not used on a late important occasion, the destruction of the Jesuits. I call it *important*, because it certainly was so, at least to the Jesuits themselves, and to their enemies.

most unwarrantably and falsely asserts, but only a small, and with the exception of a few, the least valuable part of that body, the great bulk of which contentedly acquiesced in the form of government, which had been prescribed. (a) It is related, that when they sent their first deputies to Rome, they were no more than fourteen, and in spite of their industry to increase their list, they never swelled it to more than thirty names. (b) In this

(a) Mr. Berington boldly asserts (p. 54.) that only the young missioners thanked the Pope for the appointment of the archpriest, and that they were allured by the promises, or intimidated by the threats of Blackwell and Garnet. With equal assurance he qualifies the opposition of the few appellants, as the deed of the clergy. The Appendix N^o. III. may help the reader to form a judgment of the accuracy of this statement. In the many letters of Garnet, which I have by me, frequent mention is made of the appellants, whom he always describes to be few and not less hostile to himself and the Jesuits, than they were to the archpriest. In these letters he speaks often of the zeal of the other priests; of the comfort which he received from those, with whom the severity of the times allowed him to hold any intercourse; of the services which he was enabled to yield to them, especially to the young ones newly arrived, and in general of the edifying zeal of the catholic gentry, in professing and practising the duties of their religion.

(b) The most numerous list of appellant priests, which

number I well know that there were some men of learning and weight among the clergy, though their superiors appear to have been convinced, that they were actuated more by the prejudices of others, than by the conviction of their own judgment. It must also be taken into consideration, that the greater number of those, whose names are found on the different appellant lists, which have been preserved, did not institute an appeal against the spiritual power and authority of the arch-priest, but merely against particular acts of administration, by which they conceived themselves to be aggrieved; they demanded their *apostoli*, and they always proclaimed their disposition to submit to the decision of the Pope, from whom they solicited redress. (a) These circumstances bring their deed rather nearer to the form of a regular act; and they reduce the list of those, who

I have found in ancient MSS. contains only eighteen names. The number of missionaries at that time, including the Jesuits, cannot be reckoned at less than three hundred.

(a) This was the case of the thirty two priests, who signed the act of appeal reported by Dodd vol. II. p. 258. The modern mode of appealing to all the catholic churches in the universe, and especially to the apostolical see rightly informed, was not yet in use.

appealed from the very appointment of an archpriest, or who refused submission to his authority, to a number as insignificant in comparison with the body of the clergy, as it was contemptible in itself, with respect to the characters of many of those, who composed it. But even among these there were a few, whose past and subsequent merits entitle them to respect and praise, though there can exist in a priest no merit, which voluntary resistance to lawful spiritual authority will not impair. I am far from confounding Dr. Bishop, Dr. Champney, Mr. Colleton and Mr. Smith, with Fisher, Bluet, Bagshaw, Watson and Clerk. The characters and conduct of these latter would have disgraced a better cause, and would have raised a prejudice against the best : and it is remarkable, that whatever merit might be claimed by others, some of them had constantly opposed every public measure, and had shewn a marked aversion to union and concord. The confinement or sequestration of their two first deputies in the English college, has the appearance of a strong measure, and I am not inclined to applaud it. I only observe that it was ordained by a court, offended by, at least, an appearance of revolt against a measure, upon which

which it had bestowed much mature deliberation and care, and from which the solid fruits of peace and due subordination were reasonably expected. The deputies were confined to the English college, in order to sequester them from communication with their countrymen in town, by some of whom the cabal (for such it was deemed) would certainly be fomented; and experience had shewn, that this intercourse had been infinitely prejudicial in the tumults of the English college. (a)

(a) It is not uncommon at Rome, when Bishops and priests are cited to answer to any accusation or complaint, to assign them their lodging in some particular seminary or convent, and generally in that of their own nation, if there be one. The two deputies of the discontented priests had been eighteen days in Rome, before they were ordered to be sequestered in the English college. On their arrival, they were civilly invited by the rector Parsons to the hospitality of the college; but they harshly refused even to admit his visit, or to appear in the college or its church. Two Cardinals and the Popes fiscal were deputed to hear their complaints; and the Pope read and considered their whole report, before he gave his decision. I have somewhere read a letter of Mr. Bishop, who was one of the deputies, in which he acknowledges, that he was released from his confinement, *by the interest and procurement of F. Parsons*. A MS. in my hands relates, that their confinement would have been more strict,

In closing this part of my remarks, I must remind the reader, that I have barely sketched the outlines of a story, which has been related very differently by writers of different complexions. My narration is drawn almost entirely from ancient MSS. and letters written by persons, who highly disapproved the conduct of Paget and his friends, that of the tumultuous students, and of the appellants, whom Mr. Berington every where dignifies

if Parsons had not interceded for them with the displeased pontiff. The angry Watson afterwards called Parsons their *goaler*, and Mr. Berington seems to be delighted with the calumny. It was probably the cause, why Parsons wrote to Mr. Bishop a letter of four sheets, dated October 9. 1599, on the subject of his and Char-nocks confinement, which I find entered in a register of the MSS. of Parsons preserved in the archivium of the English college at Rome. I have heard that this archivium, the principal repository of papers relative to the concerns of English catholics, was nearly emptied after the dismissal of the Jesuits from the college in 1773; that many of the papers were carried away and others scattered and wasted by persons, who probably knew not the value of them. I have also been informed, (but I cannot vouch for it) that a youth of the name of Kirk at that time a young student in the college, gathered and saved some of these papers, and has since communicated them to Mr. Berington. If the letter of Parsons to Mr. Bishop be among them, I hope Mr. Berington will favour us with a sight of it.

with the name of the *catholic clergy*. His relation of these events, and especially his portrait of Parsons, is copied at second hand from the *True Relation* of Bagshaw, the *Declaratio motuum* of Mush, and the *Quodlibets* of Watfon, and it therefore coincides with the accounts, which may be found in Camden, De Thou, Thoyras, and others of the most bitter enemies of the Roman see, who in their turn had copied and improved the relations of those turbulent and passionate priests. Mr. Berington has superadded a tinge of malicious spite to all their relations; he has carried his penetration into the deep folds of Parsons' political mind, and he has there unravelled the whole series of the contrivance projected by that father, to beat down and to trample upon the catholic clergy, and to establish the *solipsian* monarchy of the Jesuits, without controul or concurrence, over the catholics of this land. (*) He concludes this admirable instance of his insight into the human heart, by modestly saying "In this, or in a manner not unlike it, we may presume, F. Parsons reasoned" (†),

(*) *Mem.* p. 47.

(†) *Ibid.* p. 48.

and indeed his own nearest interest is concerned in this presumption. For not to mention his habitual inclination to dawb in dark colours, *we may presume* that he found it necessary to thicken them in the caricature of Parsons, whom he knew to have been, in his day, one of the firmest supports of that spiritual authority of the fovereign pontiff and his delegates, which fetters him in all his motions. It was requisite moreover, *we may presume*, to use some address to allay the rising qualms, which might occasionally sicken the consciences of modern appellants and protesters against that authority; and what lenitive could be more gently efficacious, than to adorn their predeceffors, the Bagshaws and Watsons of old days, with every generous virtue, and thus to exhibit the passionate deeds of a very few priests, as the virtuous actions of the whole clergy? While these men are brought forward in the picture as models for imitation; the rest of the clergy, who did not adhere to them, are thrown into the background, as a band of degraded slaves, gagged and bound at F. Parsons feet. Such an unseemly triumph obtained by the arts of Machiavel, will even yet, *it may be presumed*, light up a spark of honest indignation against

the now crest-fallen Parsonians of these days ; and if any should catch the generous flame , and agree with Mr. Berington in this one point , they would at once avenge him against his modern jesuitical antagonists , and probably would not thwart him in his future cisalpine projects , to deliver us from the controul of Rome , and to restore fair liberty to the British catholic church. *In this , or in a manner not unlike it , we may presume , Mr. Berington reasoned ;* but as I do not possess his talent of discerning spirits , I offer my conjectures merely as a parody of his dissertation on the internal reasonings of Parsons ; and as the reader must now perceive that Mr. Berington and I have given very different accounts of the archpriest and of the appellants , his own impartiality will direct him to prefer that , which shall appear to him to be most cleared from passion , and most consonant to truth. (a)

(a) Though the general conduct of the appellants was highly blamed in the Popes court , yet I discover from MSS. of the time , that the behaviour of the archpriest and of some of the Jesuits was not in every respect approved. In an elenchus or register of the letters of Parsons , I find more than one , in which he earnestly recommends to the archpriest moderation and forbearance , in dealing with

The protestation of allegiance, which was offered by the thirteen priests towards the close of Elisabeths reign, and is so much extolled by Mr. Berington and Sir J. Throckmorton, (*) demands a short word; and it will lead me to say another on the political principles of Dr. Allen, of Parsons, and the body of the missionary clergy. The principles of civil allegiance stated in that instrument, when insulated from every consideration of the times, are irreprehensible; nay at all times they are true and ought to be followed; but I cannot, on this account, applaud the conduct of the men, who advanced them. I will readily acknowledge their honest intentions, when it shall be proved to me, that none of them had previously contrived the protestation with the ministers or emissaries of the Queen: and if in unsuspecting simplicity they accepted

his troublesome opponents. The Appendix N^o. V. will help to shew, wherein his conduct was judged to be defective, and will likewise explain the real sentiments of Parsons and his general Acquaviva, while they judged it to be their duty to support established authority, in the person of the archpriest. The Nos. VI and VII of the Appendix may also cast some light upon the character of Parsons and on the cause, in which he was engaged.

(*) *Mem.* p. 72 &c. *Furth. consid.* p. 130 &c.

it, because the expressions of allegiance were just; I will commend their loyalty, and I will pity their short-sighted policy. I cannot doubt that it was thus accepted by a few of their number, especially by the two virtuous men, who afterwards being condemned to die for their priestly character, refused to ransom their lives at the expence of conscience, by pronouncing the oath of James I. But there were others among them, who having joined the appellants, were engaged in the intrigues of that party, and had availed themselves of the influence and deceitful protection of the ministry, to overturn the lawful spiritual government of the archpriest, in opposition to the head of the church and to the bulk of their brethren. If it be thought rash to suspect these men of a deeper design, I must at least say, that their deed, even in its best view, was an useless piece of officiousness: it carried on its very face the most undeserved affront to their brethren, and it has all the air of a characterizing stroke of party. If the experience of forty years could have instructed these men in the real policy of the government, they must have known to a certainty, that the extirpation of the catholic religion was among the foremost and the fondest of its

views : they might have known beyond a doubt, that the Queens government never intended to indulge catholics in a quiet toleration of their religion, in return for their civil allegiance. That profligate government well knew, that the catholics were faithful by principle and by habit; but their policy was, not to protect them honourably, as their duty prescribed, but to wring from them, by art and by force, that very religion, in which they found the source and motive of their allegiance. Why then should *thirteen priests* officiously obtrude upon such a government, a declaration of their duty to their sour and partial Queen, who had never doubted of their fidelity, who had no reason to call it in question, and who never meant, in return, to stretch out to them the lenient hand of protection? Their protestation, no doubt, was acceptable to the Queen and her ministers; not because it secured the fidelity of *thirteen priests*, which had never been subject to a doubt; but because it conveyed a reproach of disloyalty upon all other priests and catholics, who surely yielded not to them in the discharge of their civil duties; because it represented them as rebels leagued with the Queens foes, and thus furnished her an opportunity

portunity to sharpen the scorpions, with which it was ever the steady purpose of her soul to scourge them. The famous protestation not only implies this foul imputation; it contains the most unequivocal avowal of crimes in their brethren, which these brethren had never committed. Where and when had catholic priests or laymen *made conspiracies against her majesties person, or sundry forcible attempts for invading and conquering her dominions?* Where and when had they done these things, *under pretence of restoring the catholic religion?* When had it been proved, that they had *favoured these conspiracies and invasions,* (*) even the intended Spanish invasion in 1588? In the supposition of guilt, were the *thirteen priests* the only persons, who were immaculate? Camden, the panegyrist of Elisabeth, de Thou and other enemies of the old religion, talk much of conspiracies and plots planned and contrived in the seminaries, because it was their business to screen the severity of the penal laws from the execration of mankind. But where could these protesting priests have learned, that those plots were real? Mr. Berington himself, with all his insight

(*) See *Mem.* p. 69. 70.

into the human heart, knows not how to describe them. " I have noticed he says, the
 " enterprises of the disaffected men, of whom
 " the protestation speaks, and I have told
 " who they were; " (*) that is, he has
 wildly attributed them to Parsons and the
 Jesuits; but with his usual inconsistency he
 has called them *real* and *imaginary* within the
 short space of three pages. (†) If the ministry
 had wanted an assurance of catholic loyalty,
 why did it not frame and propose an unex-
 ceptionable model for that purpose, to the
 whole body? Why did it not propose even
 this of the thirteen priests, divested of its ca-
 lumnies? Why did it not at least relieve these
 thirteen priests from the pressure of the penal
 laws? Why did they contrive, instead of it,
 that captious oath, which, a few years after,
 through the weakness of Blackwell, too well
 answered their real purpose of disuniting those,
 whom they continually endeavoured to sur-
 prise and betray into the snares, which they
 had prepared for them? If other historical mo-
 numents were wanting to prove it, this *pro-
 testation* alone would be a demonstration, that

(*) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(†) *Ibid.* p. p. 33. 35.

the priests, who adopted it, were equally guided and fooled by the ministry, whose sole aim was to divide the catholics, and who, on that principle, favoured their well known appeal to Rome (a). It equally proves, that the spirit of party, in which they were engaged, blinded them with respect to the real interest of the catholic cause, which they loved, and which was better promoted by that body of their clerical brethren, who continued to refute their calumniators by their peaceable demeanour, and to edify the

(a) Some of these priests had been released from prison by the ministry, and permitted to travel in security through England, in order to gain profelytes to the appellant party. In the process of their appeal, they were recommended to the English ambassadors at Paris and other foreign courts, and they were always closely connected with Bishop Bancroft. "The misunderstandings between the seculars (priests) and Jesuits still continuing, Bancroft Bishop of London entertained some of the former, and furnished them with conveniences to write against their adversaries." *Collyers Ch. Hist.* P. II. p. 664. Under our present equitable government, catholic priests will merit the approbation of their rulers, much more by submitting to their ecclesiastical superiors, than by holding out to the public the dangerous example of *resisting* and *protesting against* their acknowledged authority. *Qui potest capere, capiat.*

church by their unmerited sufferings. In this view of the matter, I am not surpris'd, that a fourteenth name could not be found, to be joined to the *protestation of allegiance*; and I shall be exceedingly astonished, if a fourteenth name be ever added to the modern protestation of Mr. Berington and his Staffordshire worthies, whose renown he has promised to eternize with that of the appellants, whose deed I have here examined. I end with observing, that as these latter declared in their protestation, that they would *obey* the Pope, whom they were then actually disobeying; so the former profess a respect for the spiritual authority of the Bishop, against the exertion of which they protest and appeal.

But what were the political principles of Cardinal Allen, Parsons and the missionary priests, whom these protesters so severely inculcate? From all the printed and manuscript memoirs, which I have seen, (and I have seen many) it appears, that political business formed no part of the education of the seminary priests. The bulk of them were solely intent on fitting themselves for the painful duties of missionaries, and on preparing themselves for a life of toil

and suffering, which they expected and hoped would end in martyrdom. I have seen multitudes of letters written by them from England during Elisabeths reign; they all breathe an exalted spirit of religious zeal; they describe the missionary successes, the piety, the sufferings, the executions of priests and laymen; they frequently deplore the troubles raised by apostates and traitors, and the uneasinesses occasioned by the appellant priests; but I have rarely found a word relating to public business, or to their own principles, wishes or interests in the political concerns of the nation. This must have been an effect of the consummate prudence of Allen and Parsons, who had forbidden any questions, in which the rights or pretensions of princes were involved, to be discussed in the schools and exercises of the seminaries. (a) It is however certain, that

(a) It has been very pertinently remarked by Mr. Milner, that the deposing doctrine under certain restrictions, was taught, at this time, in every place of theological education, the English catholic seminaries alone excepted; and that the six queries relative to it, which were proposed to Campion and his companions, were equally unjust and cruel. (See *Eccles. Democ. detected.* pp. 188. 190.) It may be added, that the variety of the answers given by those holy men, is a proof that they had not studied

they all considered Queen Elifabeth as the capital enemy of their religion; and as the re-establishment of this religion was the ultimate end of all their labours and wishes, they deemed it an happiness to concur to it, by every lawful means in their power. I could produce many proofs of this disposition of the seminary priests; but I have never yet found a syllable, which could prove or indicate a plot or the concurrence of any of them in any plot, against the life or the sovereignty of the Queen; and it is certain, that the instructions to them from Pope Gregory XIII required their civil obedience to the Queen, and their public acknowledgment of her sovereignty.

A few of them had deeper views. Mr. Berington asserts, that "the whole life of Parsons" was a series of machinations against the "sovereignty of his country," (*) but, as usual, he has not administered a single proof.

the question or formed any steady ideas upon it. They all agreed in one point, that they had discharged every duty of civil allegiance, and that no criminality could be proved upon them. But they were priests, and therefore they were hanged.

(*) *Mem.* p. 26.

I have eagerly searched a number of his letters and other writings, besides several of Garnet, and of Cardinal Allen, and the amount of what I have discovered, is as follows. They all considered religion as the first happiness and concern of man, and the destruction of it by Elifabeth, as the most unwarrantable abuse of lawless power. They adhered in speculation to the universal doctrine of their own and of many preceding ages, which admitted a limited temporal authority in the Pope, to be exercised only for the essential service and interests of religion; and of course they never questioned the justice of those temporal and civil deprivations and forfeitures, which, during so many ages, had been connected with the spiritual sentence of excommunication. If this was a crime, it attached equally to all their cotemporaries; and surely nothing can be more disingenuous, than to maintain with Mr. Berington and his patron Sir J. Throckmorton, that our priests, who were condemned and executed merely for their priestly character, did not suffer for their religion, because some of them did not roundly deny a doctrine, which almost all christendom believed to be true. However sincerely I disapprove of the principle, on

which the bulls of Pius V. and Sixtus V. against Elifabeth were grounded, I am not surpris'd, that those bulls were approved by Cardinal Allen and his friends; and it appears, that they would have considered the execution of them, if they had taken effect, as just and lawful. It is also certain, (though I find no traces of it in their letters) that, on account of the invalidity of Anne Bolens marriage, established by sentence of the holy see and by various acts of the legislature, they considered Elifabeth as wrongfully placed upon the throne, to the injury of the captive Queen of Scotland, from whom they might expect redress for their sufferings and the re-establishment of their religion, which of all things lay nearest to their heart. They remembered with bitter recollection, that this religion, the exclusive truth of which was an essential tenet, had been, a few years before, protected from the throne, and revered throughout the extent of the empire. They had witnessed the crimes of three successive reigns, which had plundered the churches, defaced the altars, and murdered or ejected the ministers; they were now themselves sorely persecuted by the unrelenting queen, and they considered this queen as an usurper.

They

They held freedom of catholic religion to be the most precious of the rights and dues of mankind, and the obligation of protecting it to be the first duty of the sovereign. On the ancient principle above stated, they conceived the sovereign to be subject to correction from the head of the church, at least for crimes such as Elisabeth had committed; and on these grounds, the execution of the bull of Pope Pius by Philip II would, in their estimation, have been a deed of eminent justice. They knew that private individuals, however injured, might not lawfully use violence to redress their grievances; but war denounced by the Spanish monarch and sanctioned by the sentence of the Pope, was to them at once honourable and lawful. Hence a few of the leading catholic exiles conceived great hopes from the Spanish armament, and Cardinal Allen even wrote a short treatise to prove, that the war was just and necessary to restore the nation to the enjoyment of those essential rights, of which Elisabeth had forcibly deprived it. This treatise of the Cardinal appears to have been little known at the time, and after the defeat of the armada, it fell into oblivion. Dodd seems to deny its

existence. (a) (*) Impartial persons however will not be hasty in condemning the venerable author as a traitor to his country, if they consider, that he was then become from necessity a subject of a foreign prince, and conceived himself authorised by acknowledged authority to declare enmity against her, whom he considered as an usurper, and to whose usurpation he solely attributed all his countries grievances and distresses. Private enmity was foreign from his heart, and his eminent spirit of religion and honour screens him from every suspicion of secret revenge or unauthorized hostility. The bitterest enemies of the seminarists, Lord Burleigh, Camden, Watson

(a) This small treatise consisting of sixty pages in octavo is dated from Rome April 28 1588 and is entitled, *An admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland concerning the present warres, &c.* I have never seen more than one copy of it. I presume that Mr. Berington and Sir J. Throckmorton have not seen any. The former does not cite it, and the latter can only find it blamed in a letter *supposed to be written in 1588 from a priest to a Spaniard in France.* *Furth. consid.* p. 122. 125. It appears from the Cardinals treatise, that he was not ignorant of the blemishes in the character of Elisabeth, which have been so amply displayed by several eminent modern writers.

(*) Vol. II. p. 54.

the appellant, Berington and Sir J. Throckmorton, are reduced to confine themselves to general imputations of treason; they cannot individuate a single fact. Mr. Berington even "took upon himself to assert, in defiance of the most determined antagonists, that the catholics were not guilty of *one act* of treason, sedition or rebellion, during the forty four years of Elisabeths reign, " (*) untill finding it convenient to adopt the ideas of his new patron, he resolved to write a book of *Retractions*, (†) and in the mean time informed us, " that machinations against the Queen, some real, some *fiditious*, were incessantly *practised* in the seminaries; (§) and that the *Important considerations* of William Watfon had shewn him, how inconsistent with the truth of things his own (former) ideas had been. " (§) Such is the system of *association of ideas*, of which Mr. Berington so frequently speaks. I, who have searched for the guilt of the first seminarists through volumes of MS records and letters

(*) *State and Behav.* p. 27.

(†) *Pref. to Mem.* p. xxx.

(§) *Mem.* p. 33.

(§) *Ibid.* p. 36.

written by them, have not yet discovered a trace, a symptom of any plot or contrivance to dethrone or to destroy Elisabeth, in which the founders of the seminaries, or any of their friends or dependants had the smallest concern.

„ Their fellow-sufferers in France (the Huguenots) „ says Mr. Berington, would have „ played a better game. „ (*) May shame overtake that priest, who reviling our venerable seminaries of education, has dared to hold out the example of rebellious Huguenots to British catholics, whose ancestors, during two centuries, exhibited an unparalleled model of fidelity to their sovereigns, though their administration seemed often calculated to exasperate every selfish passion, which hurries injured men to the perpetration of crimes. But British catholics and their clergy have deeply imbibed the hereditary maxims, which have been perpetuated in their seminaries from the days of Cardinal Allen to the present period, in which these seminaries are falling before the rage of the declared enemies of God, of monarchs and of mankind. Our clergy will persevere in these maxims; they

(*) *Reflect. to J. H. pref. p. viij.*

will blush at the disloyal doctrines of the panegyrist of Arnold of Brescia, and they will smile at the glow of loyalty, with which his patron announces to the British nation, "that neither the principles, nor the allegiance, of the catholic clergy are secure." (*) Faithful subject! the zeal of loyalty eats him up! And has he then witnessed a word or a deed, which might ground so desperate a charge against any catholic clergyman, when that single clergyman is excepted, whom he has chosen for his own unlicensed chaplain? Can he even convict our predecessors, of the two past centuries, of any of those *incessant machinations* against their sovereigns, of which his chaplain has laid the scene in our seminaries? He may perhaps prove, what we shall readily grant, that the venerable founders of those seminaries were taught a speculative principle, which we reject; but surely it might become Sir J. Throckmorton, living in the mild light of calm philosophy, to emulate the generosity of knights of old renown, and to shew some forbearance, some compassion for poor exiled priests, who groped in an age of darkness, and were (in his judgment) swathed

(*) *Further Consid.* p. 166.

in the fables of bigotry, ignorance and prejudice. We their sons, we will repeat it to his face, are faithful to our religion and to our prince. He will never *meet* us in the assemblies and clubs, where private men presume to scan the conduct of their rulers, and even to arraign the very form of the legislature, to which we have pledged our duty and our submission; and if he persist to derive upon us a suspicion of the pretended disloyalty of our ancestors, we will meet him, three hundred, a host, and in the face of the nation, we will disclaim the falsehood and forswear the calumny.

After the failure of the Spanish armada, the utmost political efforts of Cardinal Allen, Parsons and their friends seem to have been directed to procure a catholic successor to the Queen; and there is evidence from their letters, that to effect this, they endeavoured to engage the interest of the Pope and of other catholic powers. (a) Parsons had laboured ineffectually

(a) Mr. Berington asserts *Mem.* p. 25. that Parsons being apprised of the project of the clergy to obtain Bishops, *hastened* from Spain to Rome to counteract it. He came thither in 1597 after a slow journey of some months, and from Genua he wrote a confidential letter to F. Holt at

to secure the education of the Scottish king in the religion of his fore-fathers; and he had rendered to him useful services, in the hope of attaching his confidence to the catholic friends of his family. Though the Queen had closed the mouths of politicians on the question of the succession to her crown, it was judged by many, that there would be several pretenders, besides a powerful party at home, to withhold it from James, whose mother had been executed as a traitor by Elisabeth. When Parsons despaired of attaching him to the catholic religion, he seems to have wished the exclusion of James, and among the possible competitors, to have hoped for success to the pretensions of the Infanta of Spain, or the duke of Parma. He repeatedly declares, that he cares not who possesses the throne, provided he be a catholic; that he leaves that concern to the princes, who were interested

Bruxelles, dated march 15. 1597, to explain to him the motives of his journey. The petition for Bishops is not among these motives. It is said, that this letter was stolen from Holt. It was made public by the adversaries of Parsons; and because it discovers more of his political views, than any other of his writings, which I have seen, it will be printed in the Appendix N^o. V. See also *ibid*. N^o. VI. his letter to the Earl of Angus.

in it, and hopes that they will give their support to that pretender, who, being a catholic, may be most acceptable to the nation and to surrounding powers. On this principle, *Dolman* or the *Conference about the succession* was written, with a view, as a letter of Parsons says, to open the eyes of the nation to their main interest, to which the Queens policy forbade them to attend. This book, commonly attributed to Parsons, was the joint production of several. Cardinal Allen and Sir Francis Englefield were probably among the principal compilers; and in the several letters, in which Parsons mentions it, he calls it the work of wise and good men, but he nowhere claims a share of it for himself. This may have been a prudential reserve; and as I think it probable that he concurred with the others in the composition, I take it to be certain, that he admitted and approved the principles and sentiments which the book delivers.

In judging the men, who professed these sentiments and principles, it would be very unfair to forget, that they followed the general maxims of their age, in which our improved

proved theories of government were unknown, and that they applied their principles to an approaching and doubtful event, in which they were highly interested, and on which no superior authority had yet laid down a law, that commanded universal submission. With this caution, and on this short view of the political principles of Cardinal Allen, F. Parsons and their friends, I entreat the reader to pronounce, whether the violent imputations of disloyalty and treason, with which Sir J. Throckmorton and Mr. Berington charge the memory of those venerable men, are fairly grounded in fact. The miserable calumnies, which Mr. Berington has detailed from the *Considerations* of Watson, will not bias the readers mind, when he observes, that this passionate and false man, without the slightest proof, implicates Parsons and all the Jesuits in the affairs of Throckmorton, Parry and Squire, in which not one of them had the slightest concern; that he accuses them of abetting the Spanish invasion, and most unwarrantably asserts, that “none were ever vexed that way (by penal laws, racks, &c.)” simply for that he was either priest or catholic, but because they were *suspected* to have had their hands in some of the same

„ most traiterous designments. „ (*) Indeed this Watſon, the Berington of his day, was the loudeſt, and, I believe, the worſt man in the appellants party; and it is eaſy to appreciate the merit of his inconfiderate *Conſiderations*, when, contrary to the notoriety of the fact and to his own intentions, he impeaches the juſtice of his country, by aſſerting, that it puniſhed our miſſionary prieſts and catholics, merely *on ſuſpicion*. But he was the hireling of Eliſabeths' miniſters, and when with his profligate friend Clerk, he fell a victim in his turn to the policy of another adminiſtration; (a) they both died begging pardon of God and of their brethren, and eſpecially of the Jeſuits, whom they had betrayed and injured. If the men had not been hanged, I would ſay to Mr. Berington, *Fiant noviſſima tua horum ſimilia*. (b)

(*) *Mem.* p. 36.

(a) They were both executed at Wincheſter for Raleighs plot.

(b) It is obſervable, that Mr. Berington cites no other original authors, than Watſon, Muſh and Bagshaw. He muſt certainly ſuppoſe, that none of his readers are now acquainted with the old party libels of theſe men, moſtly written under Biſhop Bancrofts eye. See Collyer *above*. I ſhould bluſh to name them at the diſtance of two

When Mr. Berington invited us to compare the conduct of our catholic clergy in the days of Elifabeth with that of the modern French, he must have thought that many circumstances of their respective situations

hundred years, if a slight knowledge of them were not requisite, to give the reader a just idea of the value of Mr. Beringtons evidence. The *Important Considerations*, which he repeatedly cites, is a magazine of folly and passion, vented against the Jesuits, the DD. Allen, Sanders, Stapleton, &c. the martyrs under queen Elifabeth, the seminaries, the archpriest, and whatever was respectable among English catholics. The title of the book is "*Important Considerations to moove all true catholykes, that are not wholly jesuited, to acknowledge all the proceedinges of the state of England against catholykes, to have been myld and merciful.*" The authors entreat the catholics not to send their children or friends to the seminaries, "That soe they (Allen and Parsons) may be driven, if needes they will trayne up youths to make them traytors, to gather them up in other countries," p. 42. "We doe disdaine, they say, and renounce from our hartes both archpriest and Jesuites, as arrant traytors," p. 18. "Disobedient we are to the archpriest, as an usurper..... Disobedient we are to the devil, and all his instrumental usurped authorities..... Never shall the catholyke church of England find so wicked a man, as a Parsons, a Blackwell," p. 19. In the epistle before the *Important Considerations*, the archpriest "is a puppy dauncing after the Jesuits pipe; a jesuitical idol without con-

presented common features of similitude. I would not be thought to compare their respective persecutors; for I know, that the outrages of the modern Jacobins against God, nature, religion, humanity, and even man-

„ science or common honestie „ In the *Relation of*, &c.
 „ Blackwell is an archpriest of clouts, sunburnt with
 „ jesuitisme, a beggar on horseback. „ “ Speak truly
 „ man, „ they say to him, “ for in a right good sense
 „ We are your good masters. „ “ The society of Jesus
 „ is the society of the devil and the schoole of ma-
 „ chiavellisme. „ *Ibid.* p. 42. “ The Jesuits are proud
 „ Nemrods, boisterous hunters, cozening companions „
Imp. consid. ep. p. 4. “ They hold no doctrine catholyke,
 „ that cometh not from themselves..... and which is
 „ worse, they have beaten it into the heads of most „
 „ that the massa is not rightly celebrated of any, but
 „ of a Jesuit „ *Rel. parag.* i. p. 69. “ No Jesuit travel-
 „ eth from one place to another, but he is richly appa-
 „ relled, and attended on with a trayn of servants, as if
 „ he were an earl or a baron „ *Ibid.* par. i. They
 think in their consciences, “ that the Jesuites have byn
 „ the verie causes of all the calamities ensued in England
 „ since her majesties reigne, and the most bloody
 „ attempt of 1588. (the armada) will be an everlasting
 „ monument of jesuitical treason and cruelty. „ *Imp.*
consider. pp. 24. 25. Here to prove their own patriotism,
 they grow eloquent and protest, “ that never shall any
 „ royal ladie of the court, maid of honour, or damsel
 „ of rare aspect, be led away to be wyves or concubynes to
 „ base vyllaines, swaggering, mis-shapen swaddes, (the

hood, far exceed the accumulated crimes of all preceding ages : and yet it is now an historic truth, that the execution of Elisabeths penal laws, two hundred years ago, was considered, in all catholic countries, as the most unrighteous persecution, that had been sustained since the early ages of the church. I only wish to infer, that those, who would not reckon the French clergy traitors, if they implored foreign assistance to re-instate themselves in their rights, will not be very forward to stigmatize the catholics under the reign of Elisabeth as macchiavellian rebels, because, galled with persecution, they solicited the help of foreign powers to prepare a better reign, and to re-establish that religion, which they regarded as the first and the most precious of their rights. If they had attemp-

„ Spaniards) and never shal the vermyllian blush of English
 „ virgins, the womanlie looke of married wyves, or the
 „ ancient countenance of anie widow within the isle of
 „ Albion, be made common to the abortives of the hot
 „ Spanish clime, &c. „ *Ibid.* p. 26. &c. &c. &c.....
 A curious account of many of these intemperate libels
 and of their authors may be found in an ancient book,
 entitled *A Manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of*
certayne in England, &c. By Priestes lyving in obedience.
Superiorum permissu 1602.

ted to effect it by disturbing the public peace, by conspiracies, assassinations and invasion; if they had ever broached the false maxims on civil allegiance, which their reviler Mr. Berington has pronounced; then indeed I would abandon their cause. But of all this there is not a vestige of evidence; they did not even upbraid their fathers as *pusillanimous and impolitic, in suffering the spurious offspring of Henry to mount the British throne*; they were patient and dutiful, they were meek and generous under the severest pressures; and as I think that many of their virtues still subsist in their descendants, it grieves my heart to see our respected predecessors reproached with disaffection to their country by a man, who owes his impunity to the mildness of those who govern it, and who has preconised the cause of French rebels as *great and noble*.

I have dwelt longer than I intended upon this point, which the reader may perhaps scarcely think deserving of so much attention. I will repair the fault, and I will say nothing of the gross insults, which Mr. Berington pours out upon Paul V, in consequence of the execution of priests under James I. (*)

(*) *Mem.* p. 86.

I pass by the oath proposed by this prince; for to correct the partiality of Mr. Beringtons statement of that matter, would oblige me to repeat what is known to every reader. It suffices to observe, that far the greater part of the clergy and laity, with the learned Dr. Kellison the reformer of the college at Douay, (*) refused it, as insidious, captious and unlawful, and that they were convinced, that James and his ministers did not mean to favour catholics, as long as they should adhere to their religion. The number of clergymen, who died for their priestly character during his reign, will for ever prove the intolerance of that theological monarch; and if hopes of pardon for the crime of priesthood were held out to some, on condition of taking the oath, it was but an insult upon distress, when it was known, that they believed it to be unlawful. (a)

(*) *Ibid.* p. 89.

(a) The learned Cardinal Bentivoglio delivers his opinion of the policy of the English government in his *Relazioni delle Fiandre*, printed at Cologne 1630. p. 215. from which the following extract is translated. " They employ the
 „ arts of fraud; nor do they less trust in these insidious
 „ weapons, than in those, with which they make open war
 „ against the catholic cause. These frauds and snares have

In this curious part of Mr. Beringtons
Introduction, Robert Parsons, the calamity of

„ been used in many ways ; but especially in the means ,
 „ which have been employed to foment the differences ,
 „ which , for some time past , have begun to appear
 „ between the secular and regular clergy , and in the in-
 „ vention of the new oath , called *the oath of allegiance*.
 „ Proper remedies have been applied to stifle the former :
 „ but the hurtful effects of the latter still subsist. In
 „ contriving this new machine against the catholic religion ,
 „ the authors of it had principally two things in view.
 „ One was , to furnish the king an opportunity of pro-
 „ ceeding with an increase of rigour against the persons
 „ and property of catholics ; it being easily foreseen that
 „ many of them would refuse an oath , in which hereti-
 „ cal terms were used to deny all authority of the Roman
 „ pontiffs , under whatsoever interpretation and form , in
 „ temporal affairs of princes. The other object was to
 „ give occasion to new contests among the catholic clergy ;
 „ it being held for certain , that many of them , either
 „ through dread of punishment , or tepidity in religion ,
 „ would be induced to swallow the oath , and to advise
 „ others to imitate their example. They were not de-
 „ ceived in the first of these objects ; for many catholics
 „ from that time to the present year , have been distressed
 „ with imprisonment and confiscation of property , for
 „ having constantly refused the oath ; and others are every
 „ day punished on the same account. In their second
 „ view they have also had some success ; for some priests
 „ and some religious have admitted their oath , and
 „ deviating still more from the right path , they have
 „ endeavoured to maintain , that it is not repugnant to
 the

the English catholics, dies, (*) and his surviving brethren garbed in his mantle, (†) sin on daringly to the end of the chapter, though, it would seem, with less success, than while that Machiavellian guided their steps in the paths of prevarication. Hitherto we have read much of the unanimous, but always fruitless efforts of the catholic clergy, to rid themselves of the odious tyranny of these Jesuits, and we are now assured, that by this time, “it was *hardly possible* to break down the ascendency, which they had gained.” (§) And why? The reason made me start. “Because a large portion of the clergy was at-

* catholic faith. But the number of these priests, is very small, and they are besides, the least zealous, and the least valued for learning and virtue. All the rest of the clergy have shewn the greatest steadiness in opposing the oath, and the same must be said of all the regulars in general. Many of each description, contemning a thousand dangers and even death itself, have publicly confuted it with great strength of learning and integrity of mind; and they have thereby acquired singular merit with the whole church, and the highest veneration among the catholics of that kingdom.”

(*) *Ibid.* p. 83.

(†) *Ibid.* p. 89.

(§) *Ibid.* p. 88.

„ tached to their society. „ (*) The impossibility however is effected under Mr. Beringtons magic pen, within the space of a few pages, where we find the whole power of the Jesuits crumbled to atoms by two arch-priests, the college of Douay purged of their intrusion, the hierarchy exalted, the episcopal character, which they hated, revived in England in spite of their endeavours, in the persons of their greatest opponents; and to complete the wonder, we are informed, that „ the Jesuits still possessed their usual influence „ in the court of Rome. „ (†) Having promised to be short, I offer but a slight specimen of this division of Mr. Beringtons *Introduction*, which fills more than forty pages; and whoever should think it insufficient, will probably have patience enough to read the original, to which I willingly remit him. If he can patiently attend me through another paragraph, the hero of the piece, Gregorio Panzani in person shall appear.

In speaking of the appellants, I have hitherto considered them as a party; because in fact

(*) *Ibid.*

(†) *Ibid.* p. 95.

they were originally but few, because their chiefs were certainly employed by the ministry, whose great object was to destroy the whole catholic interest; because they exerted the utmost industry to multiply their adherents, and finally because they openly opposed that authority, which in their cause, was allowed on every side to be supreme. This was the weak part of their cause, and they endeavoured with much address to disguise it by that usual expedient of parties, vehement complaints of secret and undue influence: and since their loudest cries were vented against the Jesuits, it might be fair to allow to these latter, at least the credit of having supported against them, what was then the lawfully constituted authority. If Mr. Bishop, Dr. Champney and Mr. Smith were not upon their list, I would have called them a faction, a cabal. These men were possessed of merit far superior to their associates; but whatever allowances may be claimed for the uprightness of their intentions, there can be no doubt that they were warped by the general prejudices of their party, and deceived by the ministry, by whom they vainly flattered themselves that they were supported. Perhaps even the conduct of the two, who were after-

wards promoted to the mitre, may seem in some manner to excuse the reproaches, which had been so often urged against them by their opponents. It was imagined that they were soured by disappointment, in having been overlooked in the nomination of the twelve assistants allotted to the archpriest, and they had been repeatedly charged with ambition. This imputation indeed may possibly have been ill-grounded; but when they declared an open opposition to the established government of the archpriest, in which their brethren acquiesced, it was natural to suspect the workings of secret passion, disguised under the usual pretext of general good. At length however they succeeded through the credit of Cardinal Bandini, who either wished to court king James, or did not mistrust his recommendation; Mr. Bishop was complimented with the mitre, and by the first exercise of his power, he instituted a chapter. I am very far from suspecting him of personal ambition or intrigue to procure this promotion. I respect his well known zeal, his labours and sufferings in the cause of religion, and I have no pretension to Mr. Beringtons talent of inspecting the human heart. I can judge of men only by their actions, and it appears to

me, that the first deed, in which Mr. Bishop displayed his authority, was not marked with prudence and discretion. It is not now in question, whether he ought or ought not to have been an ordinary diocesan Bishop. The fact is, and Mr. Berington owns it, he held only a delegated commission, and was in truth, only an apostolical vicar. Now if we should enquire of canonists, I trust they would decide, that a prelate in such a predicament has not the power of creating a canonical chapter, which, in the wise discipline of the catholic church, is a concomitant, a correlative to a diocesan Bishop, and by the canons of Trent, enjoys ordinary jurisdiction, during the vacancy of the see. Mr. Bishop could have no authority, but that which was specified in his bulls: he had that of appointing grand vicars and assistants, but the power to erect a chapter was not named. It appears, by Mr. Beringtons account, (*) that he had serious doubts of the legality of the measure which he ventured to adopt; and since he was not ignorant, that the validity of sacraments to be administered under the faculties of this chapter, after his decease, must depend upon

(*) *Mem.* p. 104.

the validity of its own institution, I think I am justified in qualifying his first exertion of authority as indiscreet. But it was soon terminated by his death.

If it be asked, why he was not established ordinary of England, there certainly were other motives for this economy, than the ridiculous reluctance of the Pope to part with power, or the desire of gratifying intriguing Jesuits, which are the best that Mr. Berington can discover. I have seen ancient records, which aver, that the Popes counsellors thought it a dangerous expedient to create a new episcopal see in a country, the very soil of which no priest could tread, without incurring the guilt of death. It might easily have been deemed, by the present or any future administration, a daring insult upon the king and the laws, and might as easily have brought double vengeance upon the prelates head; and it did not suit the prudence of the Roman councils to affront a nation, which the Pope always hoped to re-unite to the body of the church. New episcopal sees are not hastily erected, nor without much previous deliberation. It is not in the usual practice of the church to establish them, unless where the

regular discipline connected with them can be observed, where the Bishops character and dignity will be acknowledged and respected, and even supported by the civil power; where he can have his courts, his resident chapter, his church, his parish priests, and even his menſa. To depute into England a private Bishop, titular of a diſtant church, had been thought, for many years, a meaſure of hazard; but ſtill, to approach, as nearly as might be, to the regular diſcipline of the church, this was granted, as ſoon as the political intereſts of the king gave room to think that it would be tolerated; and by a ſtroke of policy, which I know not how to admire, in hopes of ſilencing all ſtrife among the catholics, the Pope choſe the two firſt Bishops from among the men, who had created it, and who evidently had ſtrove to draw all power into their own hands. Rome knew that the reſt would ſubmit to them without repining, and with reaſon hoped, that they would make a prudent uſe of their authority. Rome had little reaſon to be ſatiſfied with the firſt exertion of it by Mr. Bishop, and we ſhall ſoon ſee, whether his friend and ſucceſſor was more diſcreet. I end this Part with obſerving, that the Pope would have hard duty

to perform, if he were bound to content Mr. Berington. When he sends priests into England, Mr. Berington complains. When he declines to send Bishops, Mr. Berington redoubles his complaints. When will the man be satisfied? I could guess. But Lo! the scene shifts, and — Enter the much expected GREGORIO PANZANI Juris utriusque Doctor.

Come forth, thou precious foundling, thou child of dirt; come forward to be stripped of the patchwork of folly and malevolence, in which thy fond foster-father hath garbed thee. We will tear off thy assumed masquerade, we will view thy naked shapes, and if we detect thy imposture, we will send thee scourged and howling to hide thy shameless face beneath the dust, from which thou hast dared to emerge.



PART II.



PART II.
REMARKS
ON THE
MEMOIRS
OF
GREGORIO PANZANI

Critics have laid it down as a rule, that, in dramatic compositions, the principal character must always be emphatically announced, and an expectation of him raised in the audience, before he be brought forward upon the stage. He generally appears in the first act; very rarely does he withhold himself till the second; and in all dramatic history, I believe there is but a single instance, where he delays his appearance to the third. This is in a play, which Mr. Berington may suppose

that I have studied, the *Tartuffe* of Moliere; and critics excuse this bold irregularity of a great genius, on account of the uncommon importance and splendor of the character, which will thus raise stronger emotions, in proportion as it has been more announced and more eagerly expected. By a similar stroke of theatrical management, in Mr. Beringtons piece, our long expected hero Signor Panzani is at length produced in the third act to the impatient reader, thoroughly prepared to receive him by a laboured *Preface* of thirty five pages, and an *Introduction* of an hundred and eleven, comprehending almost a century of history; not to mention a list of seven *Errata* (a) and seven pages of *Contents*, which may serve as a play-bill to the whole. Happy is Mr. Berington in the introduction of his personages, as well as in writing *Introductions* to his histories; (b) but we must now examine, if in supporting his characters, he has attended to the indispensable precept of the critic,

(a) Strange, that Mr. Berington could find no more than seven mistakes in the whole work!

(b) See the first sentence of his *Introduction* to the *Life of Henry II.* above p. 52.

*Si quid inexpertum scenæ committis, & audes
Personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, & sibi constet.*

HOR. de Art. Poet. 129.

The *traces* of poetic truth and consistency can never here be allowed to be *evanescent*, and Cicero remarks, that *in extremo actu corruisse*, is the uttermost disgrace of a player, and I may add, of a maker of plays. Great things indeed have been promised from Panzani, but

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

The mountain has been long in travail; but is it a man, or is it a mouse that comes forth? I declare it without hesitation; the mis-shapen, ill-conditioned, surly thing is a bastard, is an impostor. To be serious; we had been long assured, that we should see the memoirs of Panzani; and when we have gone through a hundred and forty six preparatory pages, we do not find the memoirs of Panzani; we find nothing but Mr. Beringtons comments, Mr. Beringtons cullings from the supposed memoirs of Panzani; and why not even, (for I would not injure the merit of his literary excrescencies) Mr. Beringtons (addi-

tions to the supposed memoirs of Panzani? Mr. Dodd, we are told, intended to publish these memoirs under the title of *Memoirs of Secretary Windebank*; (*) that is, Mr. Dodd intended to impose upon the public; and I reasonably presume, that Mr. Berington has attempted, under another title, to execute Mr. Dodds plan. If Dodd knew, that Panzani had written memoirs; if he possessed these memoirs; what motive could incline him to alter the name of the author? The principal business of these memoirs, and the principal motive for publishing them, certainly was to discredit the Jesuits; and for this purpose, the name of a papal agent would have been more efficacious, than the name of any protestant minister of state. But Dodd undoubtedly saw, that by assuming the name of Windebank, he would be bound to give some account, how he had obtained Windebanks papers, nay even to produce them to the curious inquirer. Such a production would have betrayed the forgery, and a refusal to produce the MSS would have established the suspicion of its existence. Dodd then very prudently renounced the Windebank

(*) *Pref. to Mem.* p. vij.

scheme, if after all, it be not a fiction of Mr. Berington that he ever projected it. But why should he hesitate to publish the memoirs under the real name of the author? Reasons of state were perfectly out of the question in the days of Dodd, who had published so many other papers and records, which the same pretended delicacy must equally have withheld. Without any danger to the memory of Charles I, he might have published the life and miracles of Panzani at Charing Cross; and the production of this mans real memoirs would have gratified his ruling passion, which, it will hardly be denied, was a violent hatred of the Jesuits. Whoever has seen his *Secret policy of the English society of Jesus*, (a) will easily believe, that he would not have smothered Panzani, if Panzani could effectually have favoured his plan. I do not find that Panzani is alledged

(a) *The secret policy*, says Mr. Berington, *Mem.* p. 399. is a work " written with too much acrimony, but which „ contains truth. „ I attribute it to Dodd, (though I cannot perhaps juridically prove it) because during his life it was universally ascribed to him; he neither could nor dared to disavow it; and since his death, no person has ever doubted, that he was the author of it. It was printed by Morphew 1715.

above once in that work, in which surely he might have made a conspicuous figure; and I conclude, with more than probability of truth, that since Dodd, by his own (*) and M. Beringtons confession, did not publish the memoirs of Panzani, he either possessed them not, or he had no proof that they were original, or even faithfully collected from Panzanis letters and papers, and that Dodd himself was too conscientious or too cautious a man, to gratify even his strong resentments, at the risk of being detected in an imposture. Such were my first remarks on reading Mr. Berington; and though he tells us, without any warrant whatever, that the memoirs, which he publishes, are *authentic*; (†) yet with our present knowledge of his character, as a churchman and a writer, we are surely authorised to demand some proof beyond the *εὐλογισμός*. If he now has, either original memoirs of Panzani, or authentic copies of them, why has he not rather published *them*, than his own comments upon them? Mr. Dodd, it seems, had already *taken the liberty to open the style*; (§) they have since

(*) *Church Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. P. VI. p. 76.

(†) *Pref. to Mem.* p. vj.

(§) *Mem.* p. 258.

passed through the hands of Mr. Berington; and I appeal to my reader, if I have not good reason to suspect, on secure grounds, some mystery, some juggling, some trick in this dirty business, which may yet be brought to light. In order to clear it, I invite Mr. Berington, for the sake of his own and Dodds honour, if he values either, to deposite his *authentic memoirs of Panzani* in the hands of some impartial person, where they may undergo the scrutiny and criticism of the curious; and since old papers have a peculiar zest for antiquarians, he may presume that his friend the F. A. S. of Winton, will, have a peep at them. We may then perhaps give him full credit, and cease to suspect, that his memoirs are either forged, or curtailed, or lengthened, or otherwise garbled and altered. But untill this be done, I must be allowed to retain my conviction, that the Signor Dottor Gregorio of Mr. Berington is no other than an Italian mountebank, and as such, I will strip him of his false garb, I will rub his unblushing front, and I will hiss him, together with his spouters and his puffers, off the stage.

The real Panzani, a priest of the oratory

at Rome, and J. U. D. was a dependant of Cardinal Barberini, and was sent by commission of Urban VIII to reside in the court of Henrietta Queen of Charles I, with instructions to improve all opportunities of advancing the interests of catholic religion in England, to promote concord among the missionary priests, and to make reports to Rome. (a) Now I maintain, that either this man was a very unfair and partial negociator, quite undeserving of credit; or that his memoirs are a forgery; or that Mr. Berington has garbled, curtailed and altered them. During his residence in London, an important dispute was alive between the secular and regular clergy, chiefly occasioned by the conduct, and as I think, the imprudent conduct of Bishop Smith. It is not possible, that a prudent and impartial negociator, in writing memoirs of such a cause, should fail to state the grounds of the dispute, the facts, which had produced it, and the opposite reasons of the contending parties; and in his reports to Rome, should invariably cast the whole blame on one side;

(a) Dodd wrongly calls him a *Legate*. *Sec. pol.* p. 215. He was not even a *nunzio*. He was merely a private agent.

and

and even on that side, which, in the end, was certainly the most favoured in the decision of the holy see. Mr. Beringtons Panzani does all this, even with the most thoughtless partiality. On every occasion, without any proof, he represents the Jesuits of the age, as false, unprincipled men, hostile to Bishops, unrestrained by conscience in the pursuit of their own interest, and obstinate enemies of peace, union and concord. All this wants no proof to win Mr. Beringtons easy assent: but the real Panzani had held a correspondence with Richard Blond or Blunt, chief superior of the Jesuits, preserved by Henry More (*), and in part by Dodd, (†) which proves that such could not be the sentiments or reports of Panzani; and further shews, that the statement of Blonds conduct, which Mr. Berington attributes to him, is utterly false. For when Blond first understood, that he was blamed as unwilling to agree to terms of concord with the clergy, he published a *Declaration*, of which he sent a copy to Panzani, accompanied by an important letter,

(*) *Hist. Prov. Ang.* p. 470 &c.

(†) *Church Hist.* Vol. III. P. VI. p. 134. 135. and especially p. 153.

related by More, but which Dodd has not inserted in his records; and it was followed by others, which may be seen both in More and in Dodd. These letters of Blond prove the imposture of the Beringtonian Panzani, which must appear to every impartial man, who will read them. For they are strong, peremptory and categorical; they roundly assert facts, which, if admitted as true, contradictorily prove the Beringtonian Panzani's relation to be a mere fiction. Now unless Blond were at once a knave and a fool, he could not possibly assert glaring falsehoods in the face of Panzani and of the clergymen, who surrounded him, the immediate detection of which was unavoidable, and must have covered him with shame and confusion. But his letters were never controverted; the facts which he so peremptorily alledges, were never denied; and indeed the high character which Blond always bore, especially for prudence, both while he was a secular priest, and after his entrance among the Jesuits, exempts him from the foul imputation, either of falsehood or of folly. He then wrote truth to Panzani; and therefore, unless Panzani himself were a knave, he never wrote the account, which Mr. Berington gives us from his supposed

memoirs. But though Panzani was not an impartial man, I will not yet accuse him of deliberate wickedness; and of course it must be concluded, that his memoirs are forged, though Mr. Berington wanted the small share of critical acumen, necessary to make the discovery. The letters of Blond are of little consequence at the present day, and I have mentioned them, merely to disprove the authenticity of Panzanis memoirs, though More has preserved them in his history of the English province, for another reason. He inserted them, he says, to secure in future days the reputation of the religious society, to which he belonged. For as if he then foresaw the zealous labours of Mr. Berington to blast even its posthumous fame, at the end of the eighteenth century; he says that men will never be wanting, who irritated with the pruriency of defamation, will rake together from every side and exaggerate the weakest trifles, to destroy the character of that body among persons, who are ignorant of the transactions of past times. (a)

(a) " Ea quæ Blondum ad publicam innocentiae nostræ attestationem impulerunt, eadem momenti plurimum habent ad famam societatis integram in futuro tempore conservan-

Indeed what other motive than hostility to the Jesuits, (a) who have never injured him, could prompt Mr. Berington to palm upon the public such a trifling and contemptible piece of pretended secret history? Novelty, he knew, is always a bait for the credulous, and the opportunity was fair to interlard with little trouble, much obloquy against the Jesuits. It could cost him only the labour of

dam. Nunquam enim deerunt, qui ejus infirmandæ pruriginæ, infirmissima etiam quæque, apud præteritarum rerum ignaros, undecunque conquistata exaggerent. „ *Hist. Prov. Ang.* p. 475.

(a) Where did Mr. Berington collect all the venom, which he has exhaled against the Jesuits? He did not gather it from the education, which he received, as *alumnus pontificius*, at Douay, while the destruction of the Jesuits was approaching, and the voice of their enemies was particularly loud against them. I am well assured, that his superiors and directors at that time endeavoured to exclude the very eccho of it from the college, by frequently reminding the students, that it would be equally indecent and wicked in them, to approve or repeat the language of the Jesuits' enemies. To account for Mr. Beringtons hatred of them, I can only repeat an old observation, that every enemy of the see of Rome has also been theirs. I have been informed, that for some years past, it has been a standing order in the library of Douay-college, not to admit into it any of Mr. Beringtons literary productions.

transcribing ; every thing , which he had to transcribe , had been told before , and it had been long forgotten. What words then shall patience employ to characterize the *hardihood*, with which he dares to assert , that these memoirs are *new , and now first published by himself* ? Dodd , says Mr. Berington citing his page , “ was extremely desirous of publishing ” these memoirs ; “ but he was withheld from it by “ motives of a benevolent tendency , ” not to injure the memory of Charles I , “ and ” from a delicate forbearance towards some ” societies of his own communion. ” (*) Dodds own words are ; “ Hitherto I have not thought ” it proper to make those memoirs publick , ” there being several occurrences which , &c..... ” as also *out of a tender regard to the Regulars* : ” whose behaviour might probably come under a severe censure , by the method they ” took , to oppose ecclesiastical and episcopal ” government. ” (†) The tardy publication of these memoirs by Mr. Berington has plainly proved , that *the regulars , whose behaviour might come under severe censure* , were the Jesuits. Other regulars are hardly censured in

(*) *Pref. to Mem.* p. vij.

(†) *Church Hist.* Vol. III. P. VI. p. 76.

them. But whoever has read Dodds *Secret policy of the English society*, or has watched him through his *Church History* in speaking of that body of men, will no more believe that he was influenced by *delicate forbearance* or *tender regard* for them, than he will believe that Cicero was restrained by the same motives, from publishing the turpitude of Catiline or of Anthony. How can I conceive, that motives of such *benevolent tendency* withheld Dodd from printing the memoirs, when the *extracts* from them, which he has published, (*) impute to the Jesuits almost every thing that is wicked, and yield in virulence to nothing, but to his own *Secret policy*, which is beyond comparison the most outrageous libel, that ever fell into my hands? But by publishing these extracts, which, in his morality, do not wound charity, he plainly intimates, that there are crimes behind them concealed in Panzanis memoirs, which cannot be brought to light without offending delicacy. Mr. Berington does not feel this delicacy; “at the present time,” he says, the reader will not give it a thought. † He has published what

(*) *Ibid.* pp. 75. 76. *item* ad p. 128. ad 138.

(†) *Pref. to Mem.* p. vij.

Dodd from *false delicacy* (*) suppressed; he assures us, in Dodds words, that his memoirs are *entirely new*, and *were never before published in print*; (†) he is in possession, he adds, of the MSS once belonging to Dodd, both under the original title, and under that of the *Memoirs of Windebank*; (§) in a word, the whole secret is let out, all is told. Now I have compared the *complete* Beringtonian memoirs with the extracts of them published by Dodd in 1742; and I find, that, though the former are longer by some pages, yet in all the leading features, in all the facts, which (for such a work) may be called interesting, they are precisely the same, in matter, in language, in words; and as far as the Jesuits are concerned, there is hardly an imputation, a slur, a calumny against them, which is not copied verbatim from those extracts, which Mr. Dodds *delicate forbearance* and *tender regard for the regulars* did not prevent him from inserting in his history. And yet Mr. Berington has the modesty to inform us, “that he has *invariably* given an account of his authors,” (§)

(*) *Ibid.* p. v.

(†) *Mem.* p. 258.

(§) *Pref.* p. viij.

(§) *Ibid.* p. xij.

and " that his memoirs are entirely *new*, and
 " *never before* published in print. " (*) I
 abandon him to the reflections of the reader,
 who will not resist the undeniable consequence,
 that, if the regulars, for whom Dodd pre-
 tended a *tender regard*, and who might come
 under *severe censure* by the publication, were
 the Jesuits; then Dodd stands convicted of ad-
 vancing a notorious falsehood, and Berington
 of retailing it. For since Berington has pu-
 blished the *whole* and *entire* memoirs, and these
 prove to be little or nothing more than the ex-
 tracts, which Dodd had already given in his
 ecclesiastical history; it is evident, that there
 was nothing behind, which *tender regard* for the
 reputation of the regulars could induce Dodd
 to suppress. If Mr. Berington could have
 kept himself quiet, the readers of Dodd
 might still have believed upon his word, that
 the *inedita* of the memoirs contained irrefis-
 tible evidence of the Jesuits depravity. But
 since these *inedita* (now edited by Berington)
 turn out to be little or nothing more than
 the old *edita* of Dodd; since they are not
 even dished up with a new sauce; it follows,
 that Beringtons story hangs entirely upon

(*) *Mem.* p. 258.

Dodds credit, and that by adopting all the prejudices of Dodd, without an atom of criticism or reflection, he has unwittingly convicted his favorite Dodd of a falsehood. What credit shall such writers obtain?

This reasoning must be conclusive against Dodd in the supposition, which, on the credit of Mr. Beringtons memoirs, I have hitherto assumed, that the regulars, for whom Dodd had a *tender regard* and *delicate forbearance*, were the Jesuits. If it be proved that Dodd did not mean the Jesuits, but the Benedictins, the Franciscans and the Carms, who are not censured in Mr. Beringtons *complete and entire* memoirs; then indeed the argument on Dodds deliberate falsehood will be somewhat weakened; but it will stand in all its force against Mr. Berington, who tells us in Dodds words, that the sense of these authentic memoirs has *not been at all altered*, and that *not any passage in the relation has been omitted*. (*) It will also remain true against Dodd, that since, in his extracts from the memoirs, he has placed to the account of the Jesuits alone, all the wickedness,

(*) Mem. p. 258.

which unreflecting malice could suggest; he is a partial and passionate writer, who has not equal charity for all his neighbours, and is therefore equally unworthy of credit, in what he prints and in what he conceals. It will moreover follow, to my purpose, that Mr. Berington, by suppressing what regards these Benedictins, Carms and Franciscans, has, contrary to his assurance, *omitted some passages in the relation*, that he has garbled the memoirs, and therefore that they are not authentic.

Never did Mr. Berington utter a more true sentence, than when he wrote, that "the name of Charles Dodd is nearly connected with his memoirs." (*) Indeed the connexion is so very close, that it almost melts into identity. Since the origin of plagiarism, I believe, no writer has ever been so completely poached and pillaged, as the several writings of Dodd have been, to furnish out these *entirely new* memoirs of Panzani, with their equally new Introduction and Supplement, as far as the order of time would permit. If Dodd could now contemplate the work, he might perhaps abandon some part of

(*) *Pref. to Mem. p. xij.*

the outward trappings and dress to Mr. Berington; he would rather perhaps repent of his former *false delicacy*, and instead of differing about shares, he might say with the poet, to Mr. Berington,

—— *Ejusdem simus uterque parens.*

For my part, I am concerned to find him in such company, so *nearly connected* with Mr. Berington, that I could not possibly reach the one, without touching the other. The fact is, in spite of Mr. Dodds prejudices, I have some regard for his compilation, and I think that I can discern the degree of merit, which it is entitled to claim, though I love truth, more than I love Mr. Dodd or his compilation. We have some obligations to him, and future historians will acknowledge them, for having collected, amidst much trash, many valuable deeds and records; for having prepared some materials for a history, though he has tacked them together, without a shadow of taste, criticism, or discernment. I have called his work a *compilation*, because in fact, it might as well be called an *epic poem*, as a history.

But the intrinsic evidence of the memoirs has satisfied Mr. Berington of their authen-

ticity, because they exactly agree with the statements of cotemporary historians. (*) It would weary me and my readers to explore the depth of the memoirs with the torch of criticism; but we may have patience to examine them in some instances, which shall serve as a specimen of the rest. Panzani informs Cardinal Barberini, " that the Jesuits not
 „ only play tricks to disappoint him, but
 „ that they spare neither the Queen, nor his
 „ Holiness, nor even his Eminence, who
 „ had affronted them without measure, by
 „ sending him into England without having
 „ first taken their advice. „ (†) I wish to see these imputations proved from some creditable cotemporary author. If they had been grounded in truth, surely the Jesuits would have been censured, or otherwise punished for such extravagant conduct. When I consider intrinsic evidence, I remark, that if the Jesuits were, as they are every where represented by Dodd and Berington, too cunning for Popes, for Cardinals and for Bishops; they were surely too wise not to spare some of them; and I conclude, that the report is

(*) *Pref. to Mem. p. vj.*

(†) *Vol. III. p. 132 of Dodd, p. 179 of Berington.*

as 'unworthy of a confidential agent of the holy see, as it is clearly the language of prejudice and of party. It is then a forgery.

Another extract from Panzani asserts, that
 „ the Jesuits are the only persons that cannot
 „ bear a Bishop; and questionless, they will
 „ excite all their penitents against him. Every
 „ day I hear new complaints of them, and
 „ of their equivocations; and yet I have given
 „ them more encouragement and tokens of
 „ confidence, than to any others; which
 „ they requite with spreading idle and per-
 „ sonal reflections, casting my horoscope,
 „ and pretending to be privy to all the par-
 „ ticulars of my life. And of late one father
 „ Roberts of that order attacked me so briskly
 „ on account of partiality in their disfavour,
 „ that I found myself obliged to make use
 „ of the strongest asseverations to silence
 „ him. „ (*) The ridiculous absurdity of
 casting horoscopes is too foolish even for
 laughter; but Mr. Berington will probably
 produce proofs from grave cotemporary wri-
 ters. On the rest I remark, that if Panzani
 did not believe what he wrote, he was a

(*) *Vol. III. p. 132 of Dodd. p. 175 of Berington,*
 who in copying it, has mistaken the date.

knave, unfit to be trusted either by the Pope, or by us. If he believed it, he was an idiot to give to the Jesuits encouragement and more confidence than to all others. He complains of their equivocations; but how could he give them such marks of confidence, without being guilty of their crime? To give confidence to rascals, in order to catch and deceive them, is, in my ideas, the worst sort of equivocation. If he could write thus of the Jesuits in his official report to Rome, surely he would not be so weak, as to acknowledge to the Popes minister his own hypocrisy, in making the strongest asseverations of friendship to F. Roberts. Could a grave envoy of the holy see, a priest full of *zeal and constancy* (*) ever write such stuff? Is there a man alive, besides Mr. Berington, who can suspect that it is original, and exult in the discovery? In truth if Panzani wrote that letter, he was a scoundrel of the most contemptible cast. I say not one word of him, who has copied and published it.

If Panzani could thus inveigh against the Jesuits, how could he be displeased to hear his friend Windebank abuse them? How could

(*) *Mem.* p. 257.

he equivocate so grossly, as to defend them, to assure the secretary, " that the world laboured under great prejudices in their regard? " (*) With what conscience could he assert, that the Jesuits favoured those, who took the oath of allegiance? Does any cotemporary historian give this testimony? How could he maintain, that the Jesuits were intriguing with the puritans? With what regard to common sense, decency and honesty, could he relate in his memoirs, that the *usual language* of the Jesuits was, that the Roman catholic religion would never be restored in England, but by the sword; that he reproached them with their guilt in the gunpowder plot; that they thought it a more eligible state to remain as they were, than to see a total conversion of the nation, with the detriment or exclusion of their own body? (†) Such factious calumnies might figure in Dodds *Secret policy* or in Mr. Beringtons *Retractions*; but neither has any creditable historian related them, nor will any man of common understanding believe, that an agent of the holy see could adopt them. But surely it is

(*) *Ibid.* p. 168.

(†) *Ibid.* and pp. 169. 226.

more rational and more charitable, for the sake of his memory, to conclude, that passion clouded the eyes of Dodd against this plain truth, that the memoirs are forged, and that some strong nervous convulsion of his copyist Mr. Berington, who always writes as he feels, hindered him from observing the same truth.

The important report, in which Panzani communicates his own private thoughts and conjectures to Cardinal Barberini, (*) and another related by Mr. Berington (†) contain, in my judgment, the most intrinsic evidence of passionate folly, and therefore of absurdity and forgery. The Jesuits are here said, by a grave papal minister employed in a negotiation of charity and peace, to have a great many followers and admirers; and in order to diminish the number of these admirers, he proposes to his court, to cramp the Jesuits in their faculties: he suggests a still sharper remedy, proposed by some persons in England, to dismiss them from the government of the English college at Rome. Notwithstanding that they have so many followers and

(*) *Vol. III. p. 136. of Dodd p. 152 of Berington.*

(†) *Mem. p. 149.*

admirers,

admirers, he assures the Cardinal, that they do not attend to the care of souls; that avarice is their *only* motive, traffic is their concern, and they have turned the mission into a business of profit : that they persecute the Bishop, (a) and that this same avarice is the *only* motive, which pushes them on to do it. " He had found, he says, *by experience*, that " these Jesuits were for being sole proprietors " of the mission, (which they so much neglected,) that they wormed the clergy out " of their places, and obliged them to yield " to the force of interest and money. " (*) From the same report it appears, that notwithstanding the certainty of the Jesuits crimes, which Panzani had discovered *by experience*, the young gentlemen of the best catholic families, and even of the best wits, still had not wit enough to find them out, or else were wicked enough to partake in their enormities. " For, the Jesuits, says " Panzani, cull out the best wits for their " own body, they daily make new conquests,

(a) At the date of this report, there had not been any Bishop, to be persecuted, in England, for the space of almost six years.

(*) *Mem. ubi sup.*

„ and incorporate youths of the best families
 „ into their society. „ &c. I am ashamed of
 Dodd for having inserted such trash in what
 he calls a *Church history*; it is fit to figure
 only in the *Quodlibets* or the *Considerations*
 of Watson; and untill Mr. Berington shall
 support it by the evidence of cotemporary
 authors, I appeal to the judgment of every
 man of common sense, if it be not an indig-
 nity offered to the public, to tell us, that this
 is the original and authentic language of a
 prudent minister of the holy see, sent to
 compose differences between the secular
 and regular clergy. In the multitude of
 pamphlets and libels against the Jesuits,
 which I have read, I have almost constantly
 observed, that the writers of them knew
 little or nothing of their real merits and real
 faults. The extravagance and the folly of the
 imputations, which the writers of such libels
 advance, is commonly an ample and very
 satisfactory refutation of what they impute.

Cardinal Barberini informs Panzani, (*)
 that the holy see itself was afraid that the
 Jesuits would traverse its design of giving a

(*) *Ibid.* p. 173.

Bishop to England. The Cardinal had probably forgotten, that a few years before, the holy see had given two Bishops to England, without the smallest apprehension of the Jesuits power, though at that very time, as we have learned from Mr. Berington, the Jesuits possessed all their usual influence in the court of Rome. (*) In the very same letter Panzani is forbidden to insinuate the banishment of the Jesuits, or even a reduction of their number, which by Windebanks statement exceeded three hundred, though the Cardinal, and of course his uncle the Pope, well knew, that these three hundred men were traversing the designs of the holy see, and were besides, a band of traders, who persecuted Bishops *only* from avarice, and *were for being* the sole proprietors of the mission, which however they utterly neglected. Where is Cardinal Barberinis original letter, which enjoins this wonderful policy? Where is his letter, (†) in which he talks of the Jesuits artifices, and complains of them, for not having yet declared, that they would move in the affair (of the agree-

(*) *Ibid.* p. 78.

(†) *Ibid.* p. 223. where the pretended letter is detailed in Dodds words. Vol. III. p. 134.

ment with the secular clergy) as the Roman
 see should direct"? The letters of Blond
 give evidence, that this was the very thing,
 which the Jesuits had constantly done in the
 whole dispute; and they thereby prove this
 unproduced letter of Barberini to be as much
 a forgery, as the admirable communications
 of Panzani himself. The letter incautiously
 says, that "moving as the holy see should
 direct, was a method, which the Jesuits,
 on all occasions, seemed prepared to em-
 brace." If this was written by Barberini,
 how could he possibly apprehend, that these
 same Jesuits would *traverse* the design of the
 holy see, to give a Bishop to England?

Panzani is commanded by the Cardinal (*)
 to suppress a manifesto made by the clergy,
 through an apprehension, that it would occa-
 sion an answer from the Jesuits. Upon inti-
 mation of his orders, he receives an answer
 from the clergy, which, if it be not forged,
 must prove, that the men, who gave it, were
 maddened with passion, beyond the reach of

(*) Dodd *ibid.* and *Mem.* p. 222. & seq. In this
 place more than three pages together are copied from
 Dodd.

reason, prudence or religion. The conclusion of it is, “ that the Jesuits were indifferent
 „ about the restoration of the catholic religion
 „ in England, unless it were effected by *their*
 „ means; and in consequence of this, *their*
 „ common discourse was, that it could never
 „ be brought about, but by *force of arms.*” (*)
 If this answer were authentic, how could I
 possibly believe, that the men who gave it,
 were animated with that love of peace, and
 that desire of effecting a sincere concord with
 the Jesuits, which Mr. Berington continually
 ascribes to them? Panzani, the impartial
 mediator of peace, immediately adopts this
 trash, and from this temper of the Jesuits,
 he accounts for F. Smiths unwillingness to
 stop the persecution of the pursuivants. A few
 lines lower, he tells the Cardinal, that “ *now*
 „ he expects to know the resolution of the
 „ Jesuits about the agreement with the priests,”
 who were the authors of the manifesto; “ that
 „ the greatest part of the Jesuits are willing
 „ to come into the agreement; even the pro-
 „ vincials words tend that way, but his actions
 „ speak the contrary; that he himself has
 „ been very stirring on this occasion, though

(*) Mem. p. 226.

„ he conceives small hopes of success. „ Presently after (*) he reports to the Cardinal the complaints of the clergy, the substance whereof is, „ that the Jesuits are countenanced „ in all they say or write, and by their ample „ privileges run away with the credit of the „ mission; but that they, for their part, languish under all sorts of discouragement, „ and that their tongues, pens, ears and eyes „ are all useless to them, when they desire to „ be heard at Rome. „ &c. Horace long ago advised fabulists to invent with probability. The author of the memoirs did not reflect, that the clergy could not possibly utter such complaints with any regard to truth, while Panzani himself was serving them with all his interest in the court of Rome, and Cardinal Barberini was evidently abetting their cause. After what Panzani has said in his reports, it is not a little surprising to find him making protestations of his impartiality. (†) It is equally astonishing to find him repeatedly wishing to effect a reconciliation between the clergy and the regulars, which is acknowl-

(*) *Mem.* p. 231. where again more than three pages together are copied from Dodd. Vol. III. p. 137.

(†) *Mem.* p. 221.

ged to be the chief object of his mission; (*) and elsewhere to hear him declaring *sincerely* to secretary Cottington, " that he had never moved one step in the business (of the agreement,) untill the parties concerned had drawn up the articles of it. " (†)

This proposed agreement between the clergy and the regulars is the principal groundwork, on which Panzanis accusations of Blond and the Jesuits are built. In the *memoirs* it is magnified into an important transaction; elsewhere it is treated as a trifle hardly worthy of remembrance. (a) It must however be allowed, that it involved some political craft, though Blond was a man of too much wisdom

(*) *Ibid.* p. 213.

(†) p. 225. and of Dodd 134.

(a) Henry More speaks of it as follows, after having reported the correspondence between Blond and Panzani, which it occasioned. " Hæ ultro citroque datæ sunt literæ. „ Atque ut nulla nota patensve causa fuit hujus novæ conventionis; ita in auras, simul atque nata est, abiit, neque „ cuiquam aut utilitatis quidpiam attulit aut detrimenti. „ Et ego nulla eam dignam memoria existimassem, nisi „ ea, quæ Blondum ad publicam innocentiae nostræ attestationem impulerunt, eadem momenti plurimum haberent, „ ad famam societatis integram in futuro tempore conservandam. „ *Hist. Prov. Ang.* p. 475.

and prudence, to be easily ensnared. From a review of his conduct it evidently appears, that he acted under the conviction, that his enemies had contrived this pretended agreement, or at least were endeavouring to avail themselves of it, to render him and the Jesuits odious. There were at this period in England a few priests of that class of men, whom I have elsewhere qualified with the title of *adventurers in theology*; and they constituted the most formidable faction, which has ever yet endangered our small national church. They were headed by Mr. Thomas White or Blackloe, of renowned memory, who had too successfully exerted his talents in forming a clerical cabal; and among his adherents he counted some of the leading members of the chapter, which, after the retreat of Bishop Smith, exercised episcopal jurisdiction. These men had taken full possession of Panzani, a conquest of little difficulty; and they had infused into him a large share of their own principles and prejudices. They did not yet avow openly all the doctrines and all the pretensions, which they afterwards advanced; but they overlooked nothing, which could either strengthen their own interest, or weaken the credit of their opponents; and their
main

main point was, to retain and to consolidate the authority, with which they were vested. Some years before, they had formed a design to strip Bishop Smith of his power and to force him to quit the realm; (*) nor did the obtaining a new Bishop, appointed from Rome, form any object of their zeal, unless that Bishop could be elected from their own number. The dangerous doctrines, the haughty pretensions and the intrigues of their chief were not unknown at Rome; and certain considerations resulting from them concurred with many other causes, to retard the appointment of a Bishop. The party failed not to cast the blame of the delay upon the Jesuits, because in that body they counted not a single friend, and they dreaded many active opponents. Under the pretence of burying all discord in a new agreement of friendship and union, they aimed to decry the Jesuits, as enemies of concord and of peace. In one hand they held the boasted instrument of agreement; with the other they spread around the nation a manifesto against the Jesuits, so replete with slander, that Panzani received orders from Rome to suppress

(*) *Dr. Leyburns Encicl. Let. p. 42.*

it; (*) and this agent was even compelled to promise, that it should be condemned as a *scandalous writing*, (†) though he afterwards inserted the whole substance of it into his memoirs, of which Mr. Berington warrants the authenticity. The instrument of peace and concord, which they framed, was at best a superfluous and useless piece; it contained false insinuations, it implied an acknowledgment of evil practices, which the Jesuits could not, consistently with truth and honour, admit to be real: but if they refused it, they would be decried as enemies of concord; and if they subscribed it, they would be understood to bind themselves to forbear from all future opposition to the proceedings of the men, who had planned it. The authors of it seem rather to have wished, that the Jesuits might be excluded from the agreement, or that they would reject it. It is a certain truth, that neither Blond, though superior of the most considerable body of regulars, nor any one of his subjects, was invited to the assembly, and that not even an intimation had been given, that their concurrence would be agreeable to the persons, who

(*) *Mem.* p. 225. (†) *Ibid.* p. 228.

afterwards so loudly complained that they refused it. To call the proposed agreement an *act of the clergy*, or to represent the meeting as an *assembly of the clergy*, is to confound things perfectly disparate : it was merely the deed of a few men, and it was by the chance of accident, that the superior of the Jesuits obtained the first knowledge of its existence. He was a man too prudent to be hastily overreached ; and if it be true that three clergymen were deputed to him, I am not surprised that he should decline to treat with them, when I observe, that the noted Blackloe in person was the foreman of the triumvirate. (*) Blond published his declaration, and it proves his conduct to have been perfectly correct and wise ; though More, who reports it, (†) from motives of prudence says not a syllable of the characters and the designs of the men, who were aiming to insnare him. He sent his declaration to Panzani, accompanied with an explanatory letter, which might have satisfied any impartial person, and must have carried conviction to an agent of the holy see ; but this despicable man, circumvented by the party, was too mean to acknowledge

(*) *Mem.* p. 226. (†) *Hist. Prov. Ang.* p. 470.

the truth, and too timid to act with uprightness and decision. Blond shewed the inutility of the proposed agreement; he alledged that he had never infringed that concord, which ought to unite priests, nor had ever opposed the exertion of any authority derived from the holy see; and if he accepted the unmeaning instrument, merely to avoid the reproach of fomenting discord, he disclaimed the temerity of discussing, in private meetings, disputed points, which the Pope had reserved for his own decision; and he equally disallowed any pretensions, which his accusers might ground upon his acceptation of their instrument. In a word, he professed that he would steadily adhere to the dispositions of the brief *Britannia* of 1631, and that he considered these as adequate to every useful purpose. He judged aright; but it was this very brief, which goaded Blackloe and his cabal. If Panzani had possessed any firmness of character, he would not have demeaned himself into a tool of faction; and if he had possessed either common honesty or common sense, he could not have copied into his *memoirs* the factious calumnies of the Blackloists, which Mr. Berington blushes not to retail to us, as the sentiments of the catholic clergy. The

sentiments of this body were widely different; and they were expressed with energy in the sequel, in the strenuous combats, which their most virtuous and most learned members were forced to sustain against those very Blackloists, during the long course of thirty years. I close this article on the instrument of concord, with a short remark. Mr. Berington copying Dodd informs us, “ that the court of Rome ” had neither declared for, nor against the “ agreement.” (*) How then could Panzani blame the Jesuits so violently, for *not declaring for it*? If he did so, he was unworthy of the confidence of the holy see; but I will rather think, that the forgerer and the publisher of his pretended memoirs are both equally undeserving of our belief.

The few passages, which I have cited from them, are abundantly sufficient to convince an impartial reader, that a confidential minister or agent of the court of Rome, could never be guilty of so much senseless passion, and of such wild contradiction and incoherence. The broken tale, whether read in Dodd or in Berington, has the air of a dream, which

(*) *Mem.* p. 222. *Dodd.* p. 134.

a waking man has endeavoured to recollect and has made vain efforts to gather into one continued story. To complete the folly, we are informed by this waking dreamer, that the union of England with Rome “ would
 ” probably be retarded and even ruined by
 ” the regular priests, for the sake of their
 ” *ancient* privileges and exemptions, and that
 ” the Jesuits were chiefly apprehended in this
 ” respect, by thinking persons, *who speculated*
 ” *not much amiss.* ” (*) If Panzani speculated in this manner, I should wonder, in what university he had obtained the degrees of a *Juris utriusque Doctor*. When he wrote that egregious speculation, he had surely forgotten his own report to Rome, in which he had formally stated, that avarice and the interest of traffic were the *only* motives of the Jesuits to obstruct the good work of the union with Rome, which however they were well disposed to effect by the sword, as appeared by their *usual language and common discourse*. How then should their concern for their *ancient* privileges (unless traffic were one of them) *retard* or *ruin* this good work at present, especially since the oldest of these

(*) *Mém.* p. 249.

privileges, whatever they were, had not yet existed much more than fifty years? However, efficacious measures were certainly to be taken, to counteract the rueful effects of these privileges; “and the clergy,” says the wise Panzani, “to prevent being imposed on by false brethren,” [and of these there were already too many, in the *large portion* of the clergy, which was attached to the society] (*) “caused an oath to be privately administered to all new missionaries of their body, whereby they were to disown themselves to be Jesuits in masquerade.” (†) Criticism and reflections are here superfluous. Whoever cannot make them, deserves to be condemned to read Panzani and Berington to the end of his days. *Qui Bavium non odit*, &c. That the clergy should have been guilty of such a folly, such a profanation, is absolutely impossible: that a Blackloe or even a few of his adherents proposed such a piece of masonry, may perhaps be conceived, when Mr. Berington shall have alledged solid proofs of the fact, from cotemporary authors: but the conclusion will then be, that Blackloe and his few adherents deserved to be confined.

 (*) p. 78.

(†) p. 249.

as madmen. Would Mr. Berington judge otherwise of the Bishop of the southern district, if, as a condition of admitting him to exercise spiritual functions, he should exact of him an oath, that he is not an Arnoldist in masquerade, a Jacobin in masquerade, a Gallic constitutionalist in masquerade? And yet the character of a Jesuit was hardly more dangerous to catholic religion, in the last century, than these characters are thought to be in the present. Mr. Berington might perhaps be able to take that oath, at least with truth, because some years have now passed, since he stripped off the mask: but that oath will not be exacted and the Bishop will probably require other more canonical sureties, before he consents to associate Mr. Berington to his clergy.

To finish this extract from the memoirs, I make one remark. If the court of Rome in future shall not employ more able negotiators, than the signor Gregorio of Berington and Dodd, our government at home will have little cause to dread the success of popish plots: and if English catholics or protestants can give credit to the narrations of signor Giuseppe; they must then renounce all pretensions to
sober

sober sense, judgment, prudence, historical knowledge, criticism and discernment.

The remarks, which I have hitherto presented, were written after a first perusal of the memoirs. It occurred to me, that I could not fulfill all justice, either towards Mr. Berington or towards my readers, unless I should do something more than others; I courageously took up the memoirs, and I read them a second time. Hence I conceive myself entitled to add a few observations, which otherwise I might have omitted; and if my reader can patiently peruse them, he will become acquainted with some new characters and some new events, which distinguish these important memoirs.

Panzani tells the story of the first archpriest, (*) just as if he had been reading Mr. Beringtons *Introduction*, which stands before his memoirs. The truth is, that the *Introduction* and the *memoirs* were collected and written by the same man. The real Panzani could not be ignorant, that Clement VIII was not a *stranger to the whole affair*, of the archpriest, as it is here pretended, but that he had settled the government of the

(*) *Mem.* p. 117.

archpriest, after much deliberation and with full knowledge of the cause.

Pope Urban VIII and Cardinal Barberini are reported “ to have shewn a particular
 ” respect for the English nation, as well from
 ” a general wish of re-uniting them once
 ” more to the see of Rome, as from a certain
 ” natural sympathy, ” (*) and they are afterwards highly commended, and even pronounced to be *great men*. (†) I was wishing, that this character might merit for Urban an exemption from the general anathema, pronounced by Mr. Berington against the tyrannical pontiffs of Rome, who sport with the rights and even with the lives of the English clergy. (§) But Urban though a *great man*, imitated his predecessors, he condemned the oath of allegiance, and he refused to model the government of the English church, according to the ideas of Mr. Berington and his Panzani.

The commendations bestowed by Panzani upon the Benedictin Preston, the champion of the oath of allegiance (§) were not written by a papal minister. The thing is self evident.

(*) p. 131. (†) p. 191. (§) p. 26. (¶) p. 141.

The conduct of the court, in pressing this oath, is a plain proof of the assertions of a wiser papal minister, cardinal Bentivoglio, which have been already produced. (a) The relation of Panzani proves, that catholic truths and principles are always invariably the same. Nothing was done in the last century in favour of the oath of allegiance by F. Preston, or against it by his opponents, which has not been realized, with respect to a worse oath, in our own days.

Mr. editor has the weakness to advance, that the single Jesuit Smith was always able, by one pretence or other, to hinder Panzani from applying to the ministry; and he makes his hero assert, that if from the beginning he had suffered himself to be directed in his agency by the Jesuits, he should never have come to an interview with Windebank, Cottington, or even with the Queen herself. (*) It is evident from the memoirs, that Windebank hated the Jesuits; and yet because Mr. editor vouches for the authenticity of the

(a) A MS. of the last century affirms, that fifty priests were at one time confined in Yorkshire only, for refusing the oath of allegiance, and that forty of them died in prison.

(*) p. 249.

memoirs, we must believe, that an agent deputed from the Pope to transact important business with the king and queen of great Britain, could be debarred from seeing them and their ministers by a few persecuted Jesuits, whom the chief minister detested, and whom the papal agent knew *by experience* to be rascals and knaves; though, at the same time, he gave *them more encouragement and tokens of confidence, than to any others.* (*) I apprehend that Mr. editor has not much exercised his great abilities in dramatic composition. It is generally understood that each succeeding scene should be prepared and flow from that which preceded it, and that the dialogue ought to be then particularly animated and interesting, when great obstacles have been surmounted, to procure an interview between the important personages of the drama. But Mr. editor has forgotten even to inform us, by what means his hero burst through the mighty Jesuitical impediments, which intervened between him and the court; and he bluntly brings Panzani and Windebank together, merely because, as he says, “it was
 “ high time that they should have an inter-
 “ view.” (†) He even relates the particulars

 (*) p. 175.

(†) p. 142.

of this interview in the narrative, instead of the dramatic style, and yet he marks the words with inverted commas in the margin, as if they were cited from Panzani. Memoirs, especially when they are authentic, are not written in this manner; and it is plain that these memoirs are nothing more than some comments of Dodd or of Mr. Berington, upon some letters, the authenticity of which remains yet to be proved. In the passage now before me, the word *humour* is introduced, and Mr. editor has affixed to it a note inexpressibly impudent. Let the *authentic* memoirs be produced. Let us examine, if the word *humour* be in the original; let us know, by what word *humour* is expressed in the Italian language. The conversation between Windebank and Panzani, which has been so much obstructed, and is designed to prepare such mighty events, to the great disappointment of the reader, is contemptibly flat, puerile and frivolous. They talk about catholics, about Bishops and about oaths, and Panzani does not say a word, that is worth remembrance. He makes no advances, no proposals; always unmeaning, frivolous and hesitating, he has the air of a schoolboy caught out of his bounds; he has nothing to alledge for himself, and he is happy

to escape without being chidden. Windebanks seeming inclination to favour catholics is a mere pretence to introduce the business of the Palatinate, in which he conceived that Panzanis agency might be of some use; but neither Panzani, nor yet Mr. editor himself were keen enough to discover his duplicity. Windebank suffers the agent to see the king, in spite of the Jesuits: here some bows are made, followed by a scene of ordinary drawing-room chat; and to this succeeds a trivial conversation with the secretary, who plainly discovers that he has no opinion, either of the abilities or of the interest of this cringing and awkward Italian. (*) What interest had the Jesuits to obstruct such interviews?

In one of these trifling conferences, Windebank tells Panzani, " that the protestant clergy would never suffer a popish Bishop to exercise jurisdiction in England. " (†) When shall I be able to cease from reproaching this Mr. Berington with thoughtlessness and inconsistency? If his Panzani wrote that sentence, why did he not, for his own credit, smuggle it out of the memoirs and

(*) See pp. 145. 146. 150. 154. (†) p. 146.

suppress it? Why did he not rather blush, and blot out all the insults which he has heaped upon the Popes and upon their supposed advisers the Jesuits, when from the most prudent motives they declined to send Bishops into England? He has been told that one of those motives was, not to provoke persecution by exasperating the protestant clergy.

The Jesuits and the other regulars are busily employed in alledging objections against the appointment of a Bishop, and Panzani returns *distinct answers* to these objections. (*) Authentic memoirs would surely specify these objections and report the distinct answers, which were given to them. I will search for them, when Mr. editor shall produce his original papers, and I shall hope to discover some of the *very odd methods*, by which Mr. Panzani here informs us, that the catholics alarmed the nation. It is *very odd*, that he has specified none of them in his authentic memoirs; and it is still more *odd*, that Mr. editor should suffer him in this place to attribute to the Jesuits in Elizabeths reign, “a scheme to have the ca-

(*) p. 148.

“ tholics governed by three or four Bishops. ”
 Mr. editor indeed tells us, that “ he has
 ” found no documents to vouch for the truth
 ” of this assertion ; ” but what documents has
 he found to disprove it ? And yet he has
 constantly represented the Jesuits as professed
 enemies of the episcopal character.

In this part of the memoirs great favours
 are expected for catholics, “ and the king
 ” himself from an inclination to their cause,
 ” is resolved to make them very easy. ” (*)
 Mr. Panzani and his editor are here
 egregiously mistaken. At no other period
 was the government more averse to catholicity,
 (unless perhaps a catholicity modelled on
 the ideas of a Mr. Blackloe or a Mr. Ber-
 ington) than when the ambitious and canting
 Laud was at the head of the church of En-
 gland and of the councils of its king. The
 penal laws and the oath of allegiance were
 engines of government too precious to be
 surrendered ; and during the weak administra-
 tion of Charles, a sacrifice of papists was
 always considered by the court as the readiest
 means to purchase a little momentary ease

(*) p. 151.

from the hostilities of the republican party. The Jesuits are alarmed at the supposed favourable designs of the king, and they redouble „ *their usual language*, that the Roman catholic religion can never be restored but „ by the sword. „ Panzani reminds them, that this conduct has „ too great an affinity „ to the detestable contrivance of the gun- „ powder plot; „..... but the Jesuits do not wish for even „ the total conversion of England with the detriment of their body „... they are afraid of losing „ their lands, their „ interest and their power, „ by the conversion of the nation; „ whereas now, by methods peculiar to themselves, they bear „ up their heads above all the rest. „ (*) Mr. editor produce your *authentic* memoirs. If I find in them either this odious nonsense or the subsequent report of Panzani of February 23. 1635, I will demonstrate from them without the help of other materials, that your Panzani and the few men, by whom he was beset, were a knot of rascals; and I will moreover prove, that you yourself do not believe what you have had the assurance to publish and to call *authentic*. Fye upon you

(*) *Ibid.* and p. 152.

Mr. editor! *Et hæc non vides non aliqua esse documenta, sed vana convicia?* (*) Yes, Sir, you do see it; though your wretched Panzani had too little sense to discover, or too little virtue to withstand the passions, the intrigues and the views of the few bad men, by whom he was misled, and whose projects you are attempting to realize. But probably we shall, in some measure, save Panzanis credit, by tracing this infamous rubbish up to Blackloe, or some other individual of his small but dangerous faction. I say again, produce your memoirs. In the mean time, remember, that we shall expect, in the preface to your *Retractions*, an accurate account of the Jesuits landed property in England in the reign of Charles I, and a description of the *methods peculiar to themselves*, by which they bore up their heads above all the rest.

The letter of Cardinal Barberini, (†) is a good reproof to his insipid agent Panzani, and it ought to have operated as a check upon the inconsiderate editor of the memoirs. The Cardinal chides the man for being familiar with the persons, who maintained and appro-

(*) *S. Aug. contra Lit. Pet. c. 51.* (†) p. 158.

ved the oath of allegiance. We know who those men were, and what was their worth. He well deserved to be reprimanded for herding with such company. The provincial Blond gave him a reproof for it; but he seems not to have mended his manners. (*) By the evidence of his employer Barberini, he is a paltry agent; his measures, whatever they may be, are totally ineffectual; they are even injurious to Rome and to its rights; and his memoirs hitherto consist only of uninteresting prattle and senseless falsehoods to discredit the Jesuits. If he wrote and acted in this manner, he was no statesman; he was miserably duped by the British court, which contemned him, and he sought to cover the bad success of his creeping politics, by slandering the Jesuits, whom he could not deceive. It was a weak resource; and it will not avail Mr. Berrington for the purpose of disguising the defeats which he has experienced, in the prosecution of his now detected projects.

Who can bear to see Panzani conferring with the secretary of state, about a Latin book written by a friar, for whom and for

(*) See *Blonds letter in Dodd* Vol. III. p. 153.

whose book the secretary felt not the slightest concern? (*) Nay even the king is irritated about this book: (†) the monarch of England is offended, because F. Davenports *Deus Natura & gratia* is disliked at Rome. Surely, Mr. Berington is not ferious. I will as soon believe, that George III will be angered, because our Bishops have blamed Mr. Beringtons *Memoirs of Panzani*. What a driveller this Panzani is! The man can do nothing but insult the Jesuits. He agrees with Windebank, that „ if there were no Jesuits, an union with Rome „ might easily be effected; „ and he informs him, „ that the Pope will sacrifice these Jesuits, on the prospect of so fair an acquisition. „ (§) This is saying in one sentence, that the Jesuits were enemies of a re-union of England with the church; that the Pope had an interest in supporting these self-interested enemies of catholicity; and that the sacrifice of the Jesuits is a measure conducive to the advancement of catholic religion. Who will say, that Mr. Berington is not a comprehensive writer? The sacrifice of the Jesuits has been since made; and when Mr. Berington shall have demonstrated the advan-

 (*) p. 165.

(†) p. 177.

(§) p. 163.

rages which have accrued from it to catholic religion, I will re-eccho his applause of that measure. In the mean time I will observe, that the Pope, who carried it into execution, has strictly and under the severest censures, forbidden all the *Faithful*, to insult, to revile and to speak ill of the Jesuits, whom he destroyed. Probably Mr. Berington is not concerned in that forbiddance.

Our impartial mediator continues through many pages to revile all the proceedings of the Jesuits, but he never informs us what these proceedings were, nor in what respect they were faulty. How can Mr. editor be certified upon such evidence, that their conduct was not as correct, as that of their opponents? Why could not secretary Cottington be as honest a man, as Windebank, or the canting Laud? The two latter indeed were declared enemies of the Jesuits; but why then does the mediator, who had been forbidden by his master to disturb the Jesuits, (*) continually deal with their enemies? He is apprehensive, that Cottington being a friend of the Jesuits, would *reveal his*

(*) p. 173.

Secrets. (*) In truth, if his secrets were not more important than those, which are *revealed* in the memoirs, no minister of state would wish either to charge his memory with them, or to repeat them to others. In all his negotiation, I cannot discern either object, or proposal, or concession, or candour, or honesty, or subtlety, or address; the whole is reduced to some ordinary prattle, and to unceasing calumnies and abuse of the Jesuits. One sentence however undoes a considerable part of all that has been said against these men. What reproaches have they not endured, from the first appearance of F. Parsons, to the period of Panzanis agency, for the obstacles which they are said to have opposed to the appointment of Bishops! At present the impossibility of obtaining Bishops is found to arise from a very different quarter. The king declares, "that neither his Bishops, nor
 " his ministers (and friend Windebank was
 " one of them) would hearken to any such
 " proposal; nor was it possible to move the
 " king from his resolution, his chief favourite
 " and counsellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, keeping him close to the point." (†)

 (*) p. 180.

(†) p. 185.

The dull negociator will however still continue to insult the Jesuits for hindering the appointment of Bishops, and he will not even discover, that the small degree of civility, which has been hitherto shewn to him, arose merely from political interest, concealed under the appearance of episcopal negociations.

In this place a new character, a father Philip, enters upon the stage, and Mr. editor assures us, that he is a *person of great penetration*. (*) He has already peeped from behind the scenes; but now he comes forward to write a letter, and this letter is nonsense in its very terms. Who is this F. Philip? What cotemporary historian vouches for the *great penetration* of F. Philip? I have made some enquiries for F. Philip; but I cannot discover any eminent man of that name, excepting the father Philip, who figures in the story of the geese, which I formerly read at school at the end of the French grammar; and by the importance of their characters and the *penetration* of their reasoning, I suspect, that these two FF. Philip are in reality only one and the same man. F. Philip informs us, that the puritanical house of commons held

(*) p. 186.

such absolute sway, that no union with Rome could be expected; yet if a reciprocal agency between Rome and London were set on foot, he thinks that this re-union may be effected. F. Philip penetrates at once to the bottom of the difficulty, and he proves in one letter, that Windebank is a rogue, and that Barberini and his Panzani are two simpletons. I suspect that F. Philip wished to be employed in this reciprocal agency; and indeed a small degree of penetration sufficed to discover, that the miscarriage of Panzani hitherto was to be ascribed principally to his want of common understanding, and of common honesty. I am sick of his silly conferences with Windebank, and I have the comfort to know, that F. Philip will henceforward act as considerable a part as Panzani himself.

F. Philip steadily keeps in view the great business of the reciprocal agency, and he is as active and decisive in state affairs, as ever Cardinal Allen and Parsons were in business of similar import. He traces out the qualities requisite in the new agent; and these qualities would suit a dancing-master, much better than an envoy from the Pope. (*) All this

(*) p. 188.

part is very agreeable, but it evidently belongs to the *memoirs* of F. Philip; nor can I conceive upon what principle of justice Mr. editor robs F. Philip of his property, to bestow it upon that dull fellow Panzani. Every thing is now in motion; the company thickens; and we have here another great man, a Mr. Montague, who is suddenly converted to the catholic religion, only by once looking at the face of Urban VIII. (a) An agency at Rome is at length determined, and what a bustle about choosing the agent! I wished for F. Philip; but unluckily it must be a layman, otherwise the agency will not be reciprocal in all its points; for a layman was expected from Rome, instead of Panzani, because the wise projectors of the plan had agreed, that "a layman would be the fittest person to terminate the disputes between the clergy and the regulars." (*) The

(a) p. 191. If any incredulous wight should doubt of this truly *popish* miracle, let him reflect, that it has the same authenticity, as the memoirs themselves, for which Mr. editor vouches. His faith must not be staggered, because this gentleman has laughed at popish miracles in his juvenile works. He is now mature in age, and is going to write a book of *Retractions*.

(*) p. 190.

depth of this wise motive seems for once to have escaped the penetration of F. Philip; but he, with his usual sagacity, opposes the nomination of Mr. White, because he is a friend of the Jesuits; while the secretary Cottington opposes some one else, because he is an enemy of the Jesuits, and of the Spaniards. Mr. editor may flatter himself that all this will be swallowed by ignorant persons; it makes reflexion smile. Neither Jesuits, nor Spaniards, nor secular, nor regular priests, nor Bishops, nor catholics were the persons concerned in this agency; the court had neither interest in their differences, nor compassion for their sufferings. It was merely a political attempt to engage the interest of the catholic powers in favour of the kings nephews, who were dispossessed of the Palatinate of the Rhine; and it was imagined, that by flattering the Pope, some progress might be made in this negociation. The instructions given to Mr. Brett, who is at length appointed agent, evidently prove, that the court had no other view; (*) and the means, which it employed, were well suited to that shallow policy, by which all its mea-

(*) p. 206.

fures were directed. It was however deep enough to deceive poor signor Panzani, and even his admirer Mr. Berington; though this latter gentleman has related facts, which demonstrate, that the king and his ministers had no inclination to favour the catholic religion, even when their own interest was concerned. For although a negociation for a marriage between the king of Poland and one of the Palatine princesses was among the primary commissions given to Mr. Brett; yet when the Polish king proposed that the princess should embrace the catholic religion, the condition was rejected, with anger and disdain, by Charles and his ministers; (*) nor did they ever cease to employ the vile policy of sacrificing innocent catholics, to hush the clamours and to pacify the resentments of the puritans. The embassy of Mr. Brett was a paltry state trick, and it deserves to be recorded, only as a counterpart of the embassy, which was sent into Spain, in favour of baby Charles, by James I. It has however displayed the *penetration* of F. Philip, and the *judgment* of Mr. Berington.

(*) p. 209.

I omit much extraneous matter, in order to fasten upon important events. Embassadors and the Palatinate, oaths and the re-union of churches, Bishops and priests, Jesuits and regulars are now utterly forgotten through several pages, in order to obtain a Cardinals hat for a new and unexpected personage, a Mr. Conn, (*) who is a very great man, though by some nervous distraction of Mr. editor, no part of Mr. Conns great achievements is any where displayed. Indeed I pity this Mr. Conn. All his business is to procure a red hat, and in this harmless pursuit, Mr. Conn is continually disappointed. Mr. Conns *modestly*, as we learn from Mr. editor, *was under a sensible disturbance* at the refusal of the red hat; “ however he sank not in his character on that account. ” (†) It is a misfortune, that Mr. editor, has not informed us in this place, what this character of Mr. Conn was; and we shall not even learn it from any thing that Mr. Conn will perform in the course of the play. Mr. editor has perhaps omitted it, on purpose to indicate, by well-timed silence, that *modesty* was the principal ingredient in

(*) p. 211.

(†) p. 212.

the character of Mr. Conn; but still it is painful to us to see *modesty* suffering *sensible disturbance*, especially when this mischief might have been easily prevented, by only giving a red hat to Mr. Conn. I expected that signor Panzani would exert his influence to obtain a red hat for Mr. Conn; but Panzanis negotiations in England have been hitherto so perfectly insignificant, that even Mr. Montague, the chief protector of the *disturbed modesty* of Mr. Conn, Mr. Montague, who, without the *penetration* of F. Philip, has discovered the truth of the catholic religion, only by looking in the face of Urban VIII; cannot now discover what has been the object of Panzanis original mission. He mistakes the matter so far, as to declare, "that Panzani" had been sent into England purposely to "obstruct the promotion of Mr. Conn." (*) Poor Mr. Conn! Indeed he is ill used. If Mr. Conn had been a pompous blockhead of a Jesuit, like F. Petre, recommended by a bigot like James II; we might have found some comfort in seeing him foiled in his expectations of a red hat, even by that flobbering booby Panzani. But to withhold

(*) p. 213.

a red hat from Mr. Conn; to give *sensible* disturbance to the modesty of Mr. Conn, is cruel beyond measure; and yet Mr. Berington is so hardhearted, as to rob Mr. Conn even of his own *memoirs*, to which all this interesting history belongs, and to bestow the credit of them upon his favourite Panzani, who *perhaps* was sent into England, merely to hinder Mr. Conn from obtaining a red hat. I hope that Mr. Berington will have conscience enough to make restitution, before next easter, to Mr. Conn.

The famous agreement between the clergy and the regulars passes again under my eye. To what I have already said about, it I will add my astonishment, that Mr. Berington, who disallows the right of the Pope to interfere in our ecclesiastical government and discipline, can see no impropriety in the conduct of his Panzani, who, without any commission, presumes to cut and to carve for all, to exact, to prescribe and to censure, even where no specific charges are brought forward. He acknowledges "that his own court of Rome was silent on the subject of the agreement, neither declaring for it nor against

„ it. „ (*) Unquestionably the court of Rome could not countenance such a proceeding; but what shall we think of the impudence of its agent in England, who presumes to insult and revile those, who wished to imitate the prudent reserve of the court of Rome, and to subscribe no unmeaning deeds of agreement on points, which Rome had reserved for its own decision? The penetrating F. Philip discovered in an instant, „ that the *silence* „ of Rome was a *declaration* in favour of the „ Jesuits. „ (†) I acknowledge that this was a discovery beyond the reach of an ordinary genius; but any log, undiscerning as Panzani, might have concluded, that the court of Rome, by its silence, intimated approbation of the Jesuits conduct; and this conclusion was carried to evidence by an order, which the court of Rome sent to Panzani, to suppress, as a *scandalous writing*, a manifesto published by a few turbulent men, in which this very conduct of the Jesuits was bitterly blamed and reviled. (§) But Panzani in speaking of their conduct, every where adopts the language of this manifesto; he even has the assurance to attribute it to the clergy, (§)

(*) p. 228. (†) p. 229. (§) p. p. 222. 228. (§) p. 227.

and he imputes the approbation of the court of Rome to the overgrown power and to the undue influence, which the Jesuits had obtained. In a word, the Jesuits are insulted by Panzani and by Mr. Berington; they are justified by the Pope and by the court of Rome. The reader may determine, on which side honour, probity, justice and religion are likely to be found.

It is a relief to quit this sulky Italian, and to meet once more the amiable name of my favourite Mr. Conn. This sweet man is at length appointed agent at London; but unfortunately neither his general merit, nor yet his modesty can screen him from the surly jealousy of our unmannerly countrymen, who brutishly dislike him, because he is a Scotsman. And yet Mr. Conn (for at length we find a few strokes of his character) was both graceful in his person and affable in his conversation, well acquainted with courts, and of strict morals; (*) not to mention his uncommon modesty, which history does not report to have been ever *disturbed*, excepting by the refusal of the red hat. “Indeed,” says

(*) p. 234.

Mr. editor , (for I will not believe that a word of all this belongs to Panzani)
 „ Mr. Conn was excellently qualified for the
 „ office , to which he was appointed ; „ (*)
 but by a deplorable neglect , Mr. editor has not provided any business for Mr. Conn to perform ; Mr. Conn holds no conferences with Windebank , he makes no reports to Barberini , he does not even abuse the Jesuits , or talk about oaths or the union of the English church with Rome ; — the union had now utterly vanished from the political councils of the court ; the reciprocal agents had other business upon their hands , and the union was left to be effected solely by the swords of the Jesuits. Panzani however with „ that
 „ constancy which was always conspicuous
 „ in his conduct , „ (†) still keeps the union in sight ; and he *speculates* , that in spite of his labours to effect it , „ it will be retarded by
 „ the regulars , especially by the Jesuits , for
 „ the sake of their ancient privileges and
 „ exemptions. „ (§) This speculation wants a comment ; and when Mr. editor publishes the memoirs of Mr. Conn or of F. Philip , he will have a fair opportunity to specify these

 (*) p. 342.

(†) p. 257.

(§) p. 249.

jesuitical privileges, and to shew how they militate against the re-establishment of catholicity, more than the privileges which he himself has assumed, of railing against Popes, of denying their supremacy, of protesting against Bishops, of mocking at their authority, of contemning their injunctions, and of insulting his brethren, who neither claim these privileges nor conceive that he has any warrant to arrogate them to himself.

As F. Philip had recommended a reciprocal agency, it is proper to observe in this place, that while Mr. Conn was upon his road to London, in search of a red hat; Mr. Hamilton another Scotsman “of fine figure” and of agreeable and witty conversation, (*) though as much inferior to Mr. Conn in modesty, as he was to F. Philip in penetration, was, upon the death of Mr. Brett, appointed resident or agent at Rome; (†) and we are informed, that “the Jesuits were particularly dissatisfied with this agency.” (§) If this be so, it gives me a favourable opinion of the abilities and political discernment of the Jesuits. They certainly had discovered, what

(*) p. 233.

(†) *Ibid.*

(§) p. 235.

that idiot Panzani did not suspect, that all the bustle about Bishops and oaths and Jesuits and union of churches, was a mere political juggle of the king and the crafty Windebank; who having with little trouble deceived the short-sighted Panzani, expected to impose upon the Pope with equal ease, and by throwing out the false lure of future favours to catholics, hoped to engage his interest for the restoration of the Palatine family. Indeed every person, who has looked into English history, (Mr. editor alone excepted) is acquainted with the miserable system of creeping politics, which James and his son Charles pursued upon this point. Not daring to assert with fortitude the cause of the ejected princes, they addressed themselves at one time to the Emperor, at another time to the Emperors enemies; the weakness of their measures was every where discerned, and they were every where contemned, deceived and disappointed. (*) Not long before the appearance of Panzani in England, Charles had negociated a treaty of friendship and

(*) See *Hist. du Traité de Westphalie*; T. I. pp. 149. 169, 236. Item T. II. à p. 5. ad p. 16. Lotych *Rer. Germ.* L. XII. c. 1. Larrey *Hist. d'Ang.* Char. I.

commerce with Spain, (*) and still uninstructed by the conduct of the Spanish court in the business of his intended match with the Infanta, he concluded, that by the accession of the Pope to the Spanish interest, the concerns of the Palatinate would at length be settled to his satisfaction. The witty Mr. Hamilton immediately breaks the business to the Pope, and he receives from him an answer, which Mr. Berington says that " he did not well understand. " (†) It was however very intelligible even with ordinary penetration; and if Mr. Berington cannot now comprehend it, he will never be fit to comment and to publish the memoirs of F. Philip. The Jesuits, who understood the Popes meaning, had good reasons to be dissatisfied with an agency, in which a pretended regard for catholic religion was set forward by a mean and self-seeking court, to advance the little domestic interests of the king; they had reason to be dissatisfied with the stupidity of Panzani, who, though enlightened by F. Philip, could not penetrate this truth; and above all, they had reason to be dissatisfied, to see this worthless agent sacrifice the true interests of

(*) Rymer T. VIII. P. III. p. 141. (†) p. 253.

of catholic religion, by countenancing the projects of a few restless and ambitious priests, whom the clergy and they were thus left to combat, and over whom, in the end, they triumphed. It was some comfort for them to observe the Pope, who at once saw through the paltry intrigue, endeavouring at least to draw from it some advantage for catholic religion; but they certainly did not foresee, that the Pope and they themselves were to be insulted by such learned men as Mr. Berington and his patron, on account of a miscarriage, which was occasioned only by the knavery of others. (*) Mr. Berington and his patron may both yet study history.

When I undertook the second reading of the memoirs, I meant to except the three mortal conferences between Panzani and the Bishop of Chichester, which no patience could possibly withstand. I now turn them over, to arrive at the most interesting scene in the whole book, which Mr. editor has judiciously reserved for the *denouement de la piece*, as the gilding of the gingerbread is kept to be eaten last. What a pretty, affecting story!

(*) See *Further Confid.* p. 141. 144.

how familiar, how entertaining! A fine raree-show arrives from Rome; (*) and it is all a present for the Queen; and the news of it reaches London, and the king is impatient to see it; and the Queen is lying in; and Mr. Panzani brings all the fine things to the Queens bedchamber; and all the ladies of quality crowd in to see them; and the king with all his nobles hastens to the Queens palace; and the boxes are opened and the pieces are viewed one by one; and Mr. Conn comes in (though still without a red hat) to satisfy the Queens curiosity; and Mr. Conn brings more fine pictures; (†) and how all this entertained Mr. Beringtons little nieces, when they read uncles new book in the nursery! and how glad Sir John Throckmorton is to see so *much curious matter published* in a printed book! (§) and Mr. Conn sees the king and the Queen of France; and Mr. Panzani takes leave of the Queen of England, (for how could he omit it) and the Queen begs a red hat for Mr. Conn; (‡)

(*) p. 250.

(†) p. 251.

(§) "Panzanis memoirs MSS. in Dods papers contain
" much curious matter, and I hope will be given to the
" public. " *Furth. Confid.* p. 144.

(‡) p. 255.

and Mr. Conn must first do some signal service to the church ; (*) and the King talks about Mr. Conns red hat ; (†) and the Queen gives Mr. Panzani a fine diamond ring ; and Mr. Panzani takes leave of all the ministers ; and he pays his respects to the ladies of the court ; and the ladies send their compliments to the Pope , and they beg Mr. Panzanis bleffing. It was the end of the year 1636. (§) *Sic explicit tractatus.*

Pray, Mr. editor, favour us quickly with the memoirs of Mr. Conn. They must contain *much curious matter*. Mr. Dodd and Sir John Throckmorton may perhaps be able to furnish you the materials, which you may want. The negociation in favour of the catholic religion has yet made no progress under the management of the blundering Panzani; but he is now replaced by a person *excellently qualified for the office*, and you have informed us, that his red hat depends entirely upon the signal services, which he will render to the church. Judge then, Sir, how impatient all English catholics are to know the

(*) p. 256.

(†) p. 257.

(§) *ibid.*

result of Mr. Conns negotiations, and especially to learn, whether he was debarred from interviews with Windebank, by the intrigues of those eternal enemies of catholicity, the Jesuits. Your concise *memoirs of Panzani* contain only preliminary information; they are no more than a *Preface* or an *Introduction* to the real history, on which you are now entering; and if you fail to complete it, you will also fail to attain the great end of all your labours; for you have assured us, that “ your intentions in publishing memoirs, (and you are a master in the knack of good intentions) are to *inform* and to *instruct* mankind.” (*)

In expectation of these instructions, I must now beg leave to speak a word to Bishop Smith of Chalcedon, who plays an inferior part in this third act; because upon the credit of the *information*, which I have hitherto obtained, I have said that his conduct appears to me to have been indiscreet. It is indeed of little consequence at the present time, whether prudence or ambition guided his steps; but it is of some importance to shew, that Mr. Berington, even *when he is instructing*

(*) p. 260.

mankind, is, (undoubtedly without any bad intention) an unfair historian, undeserving of countenance or of credit. I am very willing to admit, that the Bishop of Chalcedon was a prelate respectable for his learning and for the merits of his private character; but I assert, that in his episcopal capacity, he set forward pretensions, which he was not warranted to advance; and the mischiefs, which ensued from them, will for ever prove his imprudence. In a word, he assumed the title of *Episcopus ordinarius Angliæ & Scotiæ*, with all the canonical rights and prerogatives of a diocesan Bishop. He would exercise *ordinary* jurisdiction, though the head of the church had vested him with *delegated* jurisdiction only. Since Mr. Berington received a letter from the clergy of the western district, in 1792, (*) he may perhaps understand the meaning of these terms. If the Bishop of Chalcedon had been duly authorized to establish himself in an episcopal see with ordinary diocesan powers, in this realm; undoubtedly the missionaries of the regular orders would have been highly blameable, in declining to yield to him the same

(*) See a Letter to the RR. Thom. Flynn, &c. in answer to their late address to the catholic clergy. Coghlan 1792.

subjection in the exercise of their spiritual powers, which they every where yield to diocesan Bishops, in consequence of the canons of Trent. But it was a truth, proclaimed by the Pope himself, that Bishop Smith was not a diocesan ordinary; and the Pope had not judged it expedient, in the state of catholicity, which he then found in England, to establish in favour of a non-diocesan, the economy which prevails in the ordinary diocesan discipline. (a) He had not enjoined such dependence and subjection, to the regular missionaries, nor had he empowered the Bishop of Chalcedon to exact it. The regulars were individually apostolical missionaries, under commissions issued by their own superiors; and when the Bishop undertook to require from them the dependence and submission due to ordinaries, they considered his conduct as an encroachment upon their rights. If authority is always justly jealous of its prerogative, subjects are equally tender of privilege; and no discreet superior, whose powers are determined, will be tempted, even by the appearance of good, to

(a) The person, who cannot discover the motives for not establishing, at that time, diocesan Bishops in England, will not be well qualified to write the history of the English catholic church of the last century.

transgress the limits, which are marked. The greatest moderation was the more to be recommended in the situation of Bishop Smith, because he had been an active leader in the party of the appellants, which none of the regulars favoured; and having been promoted to the highest station over the heads of all his opponents, he might have judged, that nothing but mildness and moderation could win them to his government, and consolidate a lasting peace. I guess that his conduct was very generally disliked. Dodd informs us, that the Jesuits libelled Bishop Smith, and he particularizes one pamphlet, written by a Jesuit against him, with the title of *Responsio ad quendam magnum prælatum*. " This book ,
 " says Dodd, raised a persecution against the
 " Bishop from all hands, and was a leading
 " card to set the laity and regulars, and also
 " the government against him : so that few
 " being willing to receive him into their families, he was tossed about, till he was
 " forced to leave the kingdom in 1628. (*)
 When Dodd wrote this passage, his business was to cast odium upon the Jesuits, not to be impartial. He gives no account of the

(*) *Sec. Pol.* p. 213.

contents of the pamphlet, nor have I ever read it : but the effects of it , as described by Dodd, are such , as authorize a conclusion , that the work in question neither was nor could be a mere libel upon the prelate. For how could a string of libellous falsehoods have alienated regulars and laity, and also the government of the nation from him , even to such a degree , that few persons were willing to admit him to share the common rights of hospitality ? These are not the usual effects of a libel against a prelate of acknowledged respectability and learning , placed in a dignified station ; and if these facts be true , I must be allowed to think , that the Bishop had been betrayed into some acts of great imprudence. His opponents, and the Jesuits among them, may have been guilty of others , in the progress of the cause ; but it concerns us not at present to know the detail of their dispute. One circumstance of it is worthy of notice. They all acknowledged one common superior in the head of the church ; the cause was referred to him , his decision was expected , and all were prepared to submit to it. In such a disposition of minds , differences may happen, but schism can never exist. The Pope prudently forbade all contention upon the matter

in debate; and though he could not possibly approve the conduct of the prelate, in assuming a station and a power, which had not been allotted to him; he sought to cover his honour, and he decided the main point in debate, in favour of his opponents. The reader perceives, that it is not in my plan to review this ancient dispute; but, if he can bear once more the mention of Panzani, he will allow me to remark, that the real Panzani could not, by any possibility, be ignorant of what Bishop Smith had done; and it is more than improbable, that an agent of the Pope could countenance, or imagine that Rome would countenance or allow the Bishops pretensions. If the real Panzani did support them, he was a partial agent, he betrayed the cause of his master, and his real memoirs, if any such exist, deserve no credit with respect to the point in question. If he disapproved the Bishops pretensions, this disapprobation must be at least hinted in his memoirs, and why has Mr. Berington suppressed it? When the memoirs are produced, I shall examine them nicely, with a view to Mr. Beringtons assertion in the words of Dodd, “ that the sense has not been *at all* altered, and that no passage has

„ been *omitted* in the relation.” (*) At present, I repeat it again, the memoirs either deserve no credit, or they are forged, or they are fraudulently garbled by the editor.

This conclusion might be still more firmly established, if I chose to discuss the noted theological controversy on episcopal authority, which arose from the differences existing between Bishop Smith and the regulars, and which engaged the attention of the Sorbonists, the French clergy, and the Pope. The Beringtonian Panzani has not omitted this controversy in his memoirs; (†) and I must notice it so far as may be requisite to shew, that his account of it could not have been penned by a minister of the sovereign pontiff. For with his usual partiality he accumulates blame upon the Jesuits Floyd and Knott, from whose books, some propositions had been extracted and denounced by the friends of Bishop Smith to the Sorbonne and to the university of Lovain, and had been actually censured at Paris: he reserves unhesitating commendation and applause for the archbishop Gondi and the Sorbonists, who passed the censure,

(*) *Mem.* p. 258.

(†) p. 124.

and for the Jansenists St. Cyran (Petrus Aurelius) and Le Maitre, who eagerly embraced the opportunity to cover the Jesuits with reproach. I do not mean to apologize for the doctrines of Floyd and Knott, which, I believe, were very deserving of censure, in the sense, in which the Parisian doctors supposed them to have been delivered. But Panzani, a minister of the holy see, could not be ignorant of the circumstances of that affair, at once so noisy and so recent; and still less of the conduct, which his own master the Pope had held in it. He could not fail to know, that, not the books of Floyd and Knott, but only some detached propositions had been denounced to the Parisian doctors, and that they had been very hastily (*a*) censured

(*a*) Dodd (Vol. III. p. 6.) relates from Du Pin, that the English clergy caused *some propositions* to be drawn out of Knott's work entitled *A short and modest Discussion of some assertions of Dr. Kellison*, " which they sent „ to the faculties of divines at Paris and Louvain, in „ order to have their judgment upon them. „ At the same time, says Dodd, the book of F. Floyd entitled *An apology for the conduct of the holy apostolical see*, &c. appeared, and was complained of to the archbishop of Paris, by whom both were censured on 30. Jan. 1631. The Faculty of Sorbonne likewise censured several propositions extracted from these two books, on the 15. of

in the general acceptation of them, and in the supposition, which the persons, who had denounced them, constantly presented as true. And what was this supposition? It was, that the Bishop of Chalcedon, to whom the propositions were applied, was an ordinary diocesan Bishop. But a minister of the holy see employed in England must have known, that this supposition was false, by the express declaration of the Pope, (*) and that this circumstance alone invalidated the French cen-

February of the same year. D'Avrigny says, (*Mém. Chron.* T. II. p. 3.) " L'archevêque de Paris (de „ Gondi) fut le premier qui porta son jugement. La „ Sorbonne donna le sien sur quatre-vingt propositions, „ qu'elle examina en fort peu de tems. „ Knotts' work was translated into Latin by George Wright and was printed at Antwerp in 1631. Dodd Vol. III. p. 108. who also (p. 105.) report Floyds book with the title in Latin, printed at Rouen in the same year. From these dates it appears, that the archbishop and the Sorbonne, who cannot be supposed to have examined the books in their original language, probably saw no more of them, than the detached propositions, which were sent to them by the Bishop of Chalcedons friends. The work of Knott here mentioned is different from the *Modest briefe discussion of some points taught by Mr. D. Kellison, in his treatise of the ecclesiastical hierarchy*. This latter is the work of Nicholas Smyth, and was printed at Rouen 1630.

(*) See Dodd Vol. III. p. 18.

fures,

tures, as far as they were applicable to the English regulars on the main point of the dispute, which was, the validity of their spiritual faculties. He must moreover have known, that the Pope had forbidden the university of Lovain to decide upon the denounced propositions; that by the brief *Britannia* of May 9. 1631, he had suppressed and extinguished all controversies and disputes, on whatsoever title or pretext they had arisen, in the cause between the Bishop of Chalcedon and the regular priests and laity of England; and that he had evoked the whole cause to his own high tribunal : (a) that by another

(a) Mr. Berington (*mem.* p. 127.) asserts from Dodd, that this *brief* was never canonically published, and was by many, at the time, *deemed* spurious or surreptitious. Dodd is bold to say, (Vol. III. p. 13.) “ This *Bull* being
 „ only handed privately about among the Bishop of Chal-
 „ cedons adversaries, gave *strong suspicions* to several,
 „ that it was either spurious or surreptitious. However,
 „ as it was never published in a canonical manner, nor
 „ delivered by proper officers, his *party* took very little
 „ notice of it, but still went on in the defence of their
 „ cause, &c. ” This is indeed a bad compliment to the Bishop and his friends, whom Dodd very unadvisedly calls a *party* : he should have avoided that word. It is a plain acknowledgment, that the Bishops friends contemned a papal decree, in an important cause, and concluded

decree of march 19. 1633, he had suppressed every thing which had been written or published relative to this controversy, in whatsoever country or language; and had declared, that he did not hereby intend to censure any

it to be spurious, merely from the accidental failure of proper officers, in the delivery. If this were true, it would strongly characterize them as party-men, and proportionably impair their credit. Dodd (*ibid.*) calls the Bull a *pretended* decree; and yet forgetting all this, he enters it in his *Chronological account of occurrences* (p. 42.) as a real Bull *silencing disputes among missionaries*. There were some clauses in it, which might make the men, whom Dodd calls a *party*, wish it to be spurious: but they ought not to have acted in defiance of it, at least until their *suspensions* were proved to be grounded on fact. The Bishop of Chalcedon, according to Dodd (p. 78.) retired in 1629 to Paris, where he received orders from Rome, to return no more into England. The usual forms of publishing bulls and briefs in the curial style, could not be observed in this kingdom; and in the Bishop of Chalcedons situation, nothing more could be wanted, than such an intimation of the brief, as excluded rational doubt of its authenticity. At Paris he could not fail to receive this from the Nunzio, or from some other qualified agent. It would be an injury to his memory to suppose, that he contemned or neglected a solemn decree of that supreme authority, from which alone his own had been derived. It appears from a letter of the provincial Blond, reported by Dodd (p. 150.) that the brief was sent into England by the Bishop, who had received it from the Nunzio,

author, book or work, the cognizance of the whole cause being reserved exclusively to the holy see. This conduct of the Pope certainly implied some disapprobation of that, which had been held by the French; it might even have awakened a suspicion, that it was not perhaps quite so easy to decide with certainty upon the doctrines, which they had so precipitately censured. But even allowing their censures to have been just and equitable, I maintain, that no minister of the holy see, writing memoirs upon this affair, would have failed to mention what the Pope had done, and even to express some deference and respect for it. How shall we then believe, that the real Panzani could bestow his approbation exclusively upon that party, which, upon the whole, had been less countenanced by the

with orders to make it public; that it was published by the Benedictins; that it had been sent by Urban VIII. to the general of the Jesuits, from whom Blond had received it authenticated *in formâ probandâ*, as is usual in the Roman court. If it appears unusual, that the brief should have been addressed to the Benedictins and to the Jesuits; it must be considered, that it was inscribed by the Pope, “To the right reverend Richard Bishop of Chalcedon, to all priests and clergy, as well regular, as secular, and to all the catholic people of England.

holy see? On whatever side I view the memoirs, the same consequence returns, that if they are original, the passionate and stupid partiality of the man destroys the credit of them; and if they are the production of another hand, then they are not authentic, and they must be ranked among the innumerable forgeries of memoirs and letters, which have been counterfeited, for interested and evil purposes, after the decease of the persons, by whom, it is boldly asserted that they have been written. (a)

We are now at the end of the third act; and Mr. editor, with the most *undisturbed modesty* assures us in the words of Dodd, from whose printed works almost the whole has been purloined, that the entertainment, which we have enjoyed, “ is *entirely new*, never before published in print; (*) and that the credit of many particulars depends upon the authors authority, and the *intrinsic* tokens of veracity.” (†) He forgets to strengthen this

(a) Such are the letters of Madame Pompadour, many of those of Madame Maintenon, and all those of Clement XIV in our own days; not to mention the letters of Queen Mary of Scotland, &c. &c.

(*) p. 258.

(†) p. 259.

credit by the testimony of the cotemporary writers, to whom he had referred us in his preface; but he supplies every deficiency by announcing, “ that his *intentions* are to inform ” and instruct mankind. ” (*) Mankind is highly indebted to him.

A new performance never seen before !

I answer with the man in the play,

O 'tis so moving, I can read no more !

Exit GREGORIO PANZANI Juris utriusque Doctor.

(*) p. 260.



credit by the testimony of the contemporary
writers, to whom he had referred as in-
fected; but he supplies every deficiency by
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A new performance never seen before!

I answer with the man in the play,

Ours to move, I can read no more!

THE GREGORY PAMPHLET-PRINTING DOBSON

(*) p. 253.





PART III.
REMARKS
ON THE
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
MEMOIRS
OF
GREGORIO PANZANI.

AFTER the pitiful appearance, which Signor Gregorio has made, I am little inclined to wade through the rest of the play, and perhaps my readers are equally wishing to be relieved. For my own and their sake, I pass by many drowsy scenes; but I trust, that they will allow me to interrogate one new player, my friend, almost my cousin, Tho-

mas White , or Blackloe ; for if I may trust his apologist Dodd , his mother was a daughter of one of my ancestors , whose name is not unknown to students in the law. This gentleman, Mr. Thomas Blackloe , was precisely the boldest enemy of authority , the most daring innovator , the most violent party-man , that has ever yet distracted our small church ; and of course , he has , of all others , the fairest claim to receive the hug of fraternity from his modern representative the reverend Joseph Berington.

Concordes animæ !

..... Heu quantas acies stragemque ciebunt !

6. Æn.

They have both equally insulted spiritual authority , especially in its source , the head of the church ; they have both equally reviled Jesuits ; they have both created a small party to abet their proceedings , the one called *Blackloists* , the other *Staffordians* ; they have both been equally discountenanced by the body , and opposed by the most virtuous and learned individuals of the clergy ; they have both been equally goaded by the demon of independence , and have equally run wild with the lust of singularity ; — but with all these

these features of similitude, there is one characteristic difference between them; for Mr. Blackloes *extreme errors*, says Mr. Berington, *were the mere extravagancies of genius*; (*) whereas those of Mr. Berington are thought to be the mere extravagancies of folly. Blackloes extravagancies, continues Mr. Berington, “ excited general notice, and ” the *ignorant*, the *malevolent* and the *bigoted* ” taking the alarm; ” — that is, the ignorant, the malevolent and the bigoted Pope Alexander VII, with his cardinals and consultors; the bodies of the secular and regular clergy of England; the divines of the English college at Douay, and in a special manner, the DD. George Leyburn the president, and John Warner the professor, Peter Talbot archbishop of Dublin, Richard Smith Bishop of Chalcedon; the divines of the English seminary at Lisbon, and those of the Inquisition of Portugal; the DD. Edward Daniel, Francis Gage, Robert Pugh, Peter Fitton or Bidulph, Silvester Jenks, Peter Hoburgh &c.; all these and many other *ignorant and malevolent bigots taking the alarm*; “ represented ” Mr. Blackloe as a dangerous innovator,

(*) p. 294.

„ and more than unstable in faith. „ (*) The first of them, Alexander VII. on the seventeenth day of November 1661 not only condemned several of his writings specified in the decree, but even carried his bigotry so far, as to forbid all his other writings, whether printed or MSS. to be retained or read. Another, Mr. Jepks, judges his doctrines to be contrary to fundamental articles of faith, and plainly heretical; and he adds, that his philosophy is no less void of sense and reason, than his theology is of religion and piety. (†) A third, Dr. Pugh, affirms, that Blackloe expended in the printing of his *extravagancies of genius*, considerable sums of money, which were destined for better uses. (§) A fourth, Mr. Hobbrough, asserts, that his act of submission to the holy see was not only insufficient, but even insolent. A fifth, Dr. Leyburn, a principal ornament of the clergy and grand vicar in England, relates, that Bishop Smith had enjoined him to suppress Blackloes new divinity, as containing diverse naughty, erroneous and scandalous doctrines. (¶) Elsewhere he

(*) *Ibid.*

(†) *View of Whites Princ.* sub init. & c. 4.

(§) *Excant. Amul.* c. 2.

(¶) *Epist. declarat.* p. 8.

reports, that he and others had often heard Bishop Smith assert, that Blackloe had the two marks of an heretic, singularity and novelty; and he cites a letter of February 10. 1660, wherein Dr. Gage agent for the clergy at Rome says, " Blackloes doctrine is in so
 " great detestation here, that neither that of
 " Luther or Calvin ever was in a greater." (*)
 It is in this work that the Dr. asserts, that some of the chapter-men in London did not desire a Bishop, and that they deprived young missionaries of common charities, if they did not extol Mr. Blackloe. The same Dr. Leyburn, who had presided many years over his brethren in England and in the college at Douay, together with Dr. Edward Daniel, by a letter of July 4. 1653 invited the clergy assembled at London, to disavow and protest against the works of Blackloe and his principal supporter Holden, because " by the writings of these men, the purity and integrity
 " of the clergys doctrine, which was formerly
 " much renowned, had been greatly stained
 " both at home and in foreign countries." (†)

(*) *Encycl. Answer.* pp. 11. 56.

(†) *Epist. declar.* p. 14. & seq. See also the *Sum. of Dr. Ls. Answer.*

In the work, in which this letter is reported, the Dr. proves Blackloes doctrines to be injurious to holy scripture, to councils, and to the universal practice of the church; and he shews that the extravagancy of them was equalled only by his obstinacy in maintaining them. (a) I have mentioned the particulars,

(a) Among the *extravagancies of genius*, which Blackloe pretended to establish, the principal were, that acts of faith are false and superstitious, unless they are grounded on demonstrative evidence of the truth, which is believed; that ignorant catholics, who have not this evidence, want true faith; that no internal inspiration, or pious disposition of the will is requisite to bend the understanding to believe the truths of faith; that Christ did not die for all men; that the sacraments by their own efficacy cause no grace in the soul; that no souls are delivered out of purgatory, before the day of judgment, and that suffrages for the dead are therefore useless; that devils and damned souls enjoy happiness, greatly surpassing any that is enjoyed in this world; that they suffer no misery, but from their own perverseness; that if they chose it, they might be delivered from this misery, but that they love their pains, and are unwilling to be deprived of them &c. Besides these doctrines, which Mr. Berington may call *innocent theories* calculated to *amuse the learned*, *Pref. to Mem. p. xxxij.* Blackloe had the honour to take the lead of Molinos, in maintaining a famous principle of more practical tendency, viz. that exterior acts of sin do not exclude charity from the soul, and that he, who should commit exterior sins, still retaining the love of God,

because they at once display the sentiments of the most respected clergymen of the age, relative to this favourite of Mr. Berington, and prove that his principal abettors were a few of those men, who exercised the precarious jurisdiction of what was then called the chapter. It must not be imagined that they were actuated by any particular interest or zeal for the specific opinions or *extravagancies of genius* of Mr. Blackloe : like all other turbulent churchmen, they made use of the new doctrines merely as engines to beat down established authority, and to arrogate power to themselves. The retreat of Bishop Smith, whom “ they had a design to deprive of his episcopal authority, ” (*) afforded them a

would nevertheless be admitted into heaven. See *Sum of Dr. Leyburns answer* pp. 5. 6. Blackloe was a violent man, impatient of contradiction. He treated his opponents, and especially the learned and virtuous Dr. Leyburn, as ignorant men, sycophants, madmen, calumniators, hissing serpents, &c. As all *instruction*, and of course all learning is *progressive*, Mr. Berington has made improvements upon Blackloes epithets. See his *Litany of universal charity*, above, p. 20. For a further account of Blackloe see *Blackloane hæresis olim in Pelagio & Manichæis damnata, nunc denuo renascentis historia & confutatio. Audere M. Lomino theologo*. See also Append. N°. X.

(*) *Epist. declar.* p. 23.

favourable opportunity ; and though the virtuous resistance of the body of the clergy headed by Dr. Leyburn, constantly defeated their projects, yet we find one of them (Harrington) assuming spiritual power in defiance of the Bishop, and presuming to exercise it without any commission or institution. (*) It may be remarked for the sake of those, who wish to study this part of English catholic history, that in the whole negociation of Panzani, the measures and deeds of these few men are every where dignified by Mr. Berington and exalted into actions of the English clergy, as were the proceedings of the few appellants in the reigns of Elisabeth and James. Blackloe, says Mr. Berington, (†) *was deputed, with two others, by the clergy, to treat with the Jesuits*; who with Blond their superior, were not less ignorant, malevolent and bigoted in regard to Blackloe, than the other gentlemen, whom I have named. If this be so, I cannot much wonder, that they refused to coalesce with such a man; and when I read Blonds complaints to Panzani of the writings of some of his enemies, and his surprise that Panzani can suffer himself to be misled by men of such

(*) *Ibid.* p. 41.

(†) *Mem.* p. 226.

character; (*) it appears to me probable, that Blackloe was the man, whom he had in view. When Mr. Berington shall produce Panzanis *authentic* memoirs, I recommend it to critics to examine, if the forgery of them may not be traced to this man, or to some one of his few adherents.

In dismissing this article of Blackloe, I must observe, that Dodd, both in his *History* and especially in his *Secret policy*, labours with an ill grace to apologize for him and to extenuate all his faults. The manner, in which, on this occasion, he speaks of the censurers of books at Rome, (†) was misbecoming his character; and the bare acknowledgment, that Blackloe *adhered too stiffly to dangerous novelties*, is indeed a slight censure of a man, many of whose doctrines Rome had condemned as rash, scandalous, seditious, false, erroneous in faith, and heretical. When Dodd reports records, deeds, and other dead instruments, I value and I esteem him. When he writes from himself, he betrays the utmost want of judgment and of critical discernment

(*) *Dodd Vol. III. p. 153.*

(†) *Vol. III. p. 286.*

and frequently the most glaring partiality. Hence he is a welcome writer to Mr. Berrington, who informs us, that "he has seldom
 " known a writer, and that writer a church-
 " man, so free from prejudice and the degra-
 " ding impressions of party-zeal." (*) After
 a very few pages, in stating his own motive
 for invariably censuring the Jesuits, he ack-
 nowledges "that a *sufficient degree of partiality*
 " *may be found on the side* " of the writers,
 who are opposite to them; and "since he
 " could not free himself from all party-prepos-
 " session, he would rather err, he says, in
 " favour of his own inclinations, than against
 " them." (†) On this account he has pre-
 ferred the impartial Dodd, (in whom a suf-
 ficient degree of partiality may be found,) to
 all other historians; and the *entirely new* work,
 entitled *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, is indeed
 most closely *connected* with the several writings
 of Dodd, as far as the order of time would
 suffer them to coincide. The *Introduction* and
 part of the *Supplement* are to be read in
 fuller detail in *Dodds Church History*, and more
 particularly in his *Secret policy of the English*
society of Jesus and in the *History of Doway*

 (*) *Pref. to Mem.* p. ix.

(†) p. xv.

college;

college; (a) and the middle act of Panzani never before published in print, may be studied almost at full length in the several articles of Dodds third volume, entitled, *Account of Richard Bishop of Chalcedon, Character of King Charles I. Life of Gregorio Panzani, Records of Panzani, and Records of Jesuits*. In marking out these points of connexion between the two writers, I must except the admirable preface prefixed by Mr. Berington to the memoirs of Panzani, which I fairly acknowledge to be entirely new, completely original. Past ages have not its model; futurity will not produce its rival.

Among the principal adherents and abettors of Blackloe, we must reckon the enlightened Henry Holden, whose vindication of him Mr. Berington has produced, like every thing else, from Dodd, but whose eulogium, which fills two columns in Dodd, he has here compressed into a single note. To this man may be applied what Dodd says of Blackloe, "He had many enemies, which has occasioned a great variety in his character," (*)

(a) A small work, of which, it is not doubted but Dodd was the author.

(*) Vol. III. p. 285.

or rather in the representation of his character. Holden being the friend and supporter of Blackloe, had in fact as many enemies as the latter; and as Dodd and Mr. Berington are loud in his praises, it may be useful, in appreciating his merit, to know what others have thought of him and have written concerning him. The great sway, which he is said to have borne in the university of Paris, is not allowed by Dr. Pugh, who well knew the man, and the character which he bore in that capital. His words are, “ Besides
 ” his title of Dr. of Divinity at Paris, he had
 ” little to make him esteemed. He never
 ” could write ten lines of true latin; and his
 ” philosophy and divinity were proportional.
 ” Yet his presumption was so great, that he
 ” thought none equal to him, except the all-
 ” knowing Blackloe, as he used rashly to
 ” call him. ” Mr. Pugh adds, that “ the
 ” Bishop of Chalcedon used to say of him,
 ” that he was an unlearned, presumptuous and
 ” rash man. ” Dr. Leyburn in his *Encyclical answer*, speaks of him thus. “ He had enough
 ” to do for his own works. For when I was
 ” at Paris, Dr. Holden put forth a pamphlet,
 ” unbeseeming his religion and function,
 ” wherein he accused the court of Rome of

„ ignorance and corruption : likewise he had
 „ set forth a book much derogating from the
 „ Popes authority. „

Mr. Berington regrets, that we have not an epitome of Holdens *Analyfis Fidei*, „ arranged by a masterly hand ; for it would
 „ silence the quibbles of some, and the pe-
 „ dantry of others, who disturb the faith of
 „ the multitude. „ If Mr. Berington intends to employ his own masterly hand in effecting this good purpose, it is to be hoped, that he will arrange the work with more prudence, than he has arranged the memoirs of Panzani. For though our Bishops are very indifferent about these contemptible memoirs, which do not interest faith ; they will watch a book of theology with a more jealous eye. I give Mr. Berington this friendly hint, because I remember that, some years ago, the authors and editors of the letters of Clement XIV had prepared for the press a whole course of theology written by that Pope, with a view to terminate all scholastic disputes ; (a) when some of

(a) In the *Life of Clement XIV* which was published by way of preface or introduction to the Letters, this course of theology is mentioned as a studied work of Clement, that the then intended publication of it might not come quite unexpected upon the public.

the French Bishops having discovered their plan , had interest enough to prevent the impression , though it was purposely designed to *silence the quibbles of some , and the pedantry of others*. Our Bishops , unable to controul the press , could only discredit the work among the clergy ; and it would be a misfortune , if either their zeal should rob Mr. Berington of purchasers and admirers , or his complaisance for Holden should tempt him to forfeit the respect , which , he knows , is due to the Bishops.

Mr. Dodd informs us , “ that Holdens
 ” complaisance for the Jansenist Arnould and
 ” his friend Blackloe , could never make him
 ” forfeit the respect due to the supreme pas-
 ” tor. ” (*) I will presently produce some
 proofs of his regard for the supreme pastor ;
 but I first remark , that it is an happiness for
 an author to find a friend , who will not ,
 through complaisance , dissemble his mistakes ,
 nor even his *extravagancies of genius*. Such
 an impartial friend did the all - knowing
 Blackloe possess in Dr. Holden , who in a

(*) Vol. III. p. 298.

work now before me, (a) ventures to disapprove his language, as *unusual, untoward and crabbed*, and his style and manner of speech, as *displeasing* to the reader, though even his friend. As an instance of this language and style, "What needed, says the Dr. that severe and almost unseemly expression of Mr. White, (Blackloe) *that it were a less crime to violate a sacred virgin upon an altar, than to settle amongst us the belief of the Popes infallibility? Why so rigorously to brand the doctrine of opus operatum with the censure of pagan superstition, hypocritical witchcraft, and worthy no better refutation, than the fire?* We should testify, continues the moderate Dr. our dislike of the opinion of papal infallibility with civility, and not reprove the other (of opus operatum) as paganism and witchcraft. " He proceeds in the same manner to criticise his friends *harsh language*, who says, *that it could not have happened better to the damned, but God and nature must have been worse; and that those places in the creed and*

(a) The title of it is *A Letter written by Dr. Holden to Mr. Graunt concerning Mr. Whites treatise de medio animarum statu*. Paris 1661. In this tract, the Dr. labours as far as he dares, to vindicate or excuse Blackloes reveries on the middle state of souls.

scripture of our saviors being conceived of the holy ghost, are to be understood of God the father. “ By this style and manner of speech, ” says Holden, his doctrine is so far from ” taking that effect, which I suppose he would ” have it, that is, to be admitted and received, at least among the more learned sort of ” men; that contrarywise it is thrown by and ” neglected, if not quite blasted at first sight. ” Yet I find that amongst our curious French ” wits (who will see all things) it gets him ” the reputation of a great geny, and of a ” very learned man. ” This, it must be owned, is a model of friendly criticism. Holden had already declared, “ that he had ever clearly ” found Blackloés doctrine to be thoroughly ” solid and substantial. ” (*) Of this he had no doubt; but if, through complaisance to his friend, he would not spare his *crabbed stile*, can it be imagined, that he would sacrifice to him or to Arnauld the respect *due* to the supreme pastor? The following short extracts from his letters in Dr. Pughs collection, may enable us to conjecture, what respect he conceived to be due to him. (a) In

(*) *Dodd. Vol. III. p. 354.*

(a) The collection here mentioned was published by Dr. Pugh with the title of *Blackloes cabal*. The originals

the sixth letter he has these words: "Mr. Fittons
 " argument ought to prevail, *if the Pope be*
 " *head of the church*; not otherwise. For then
 " the next provincial Bishops ought to pro-
 " vide for their neighbors. " Is then, Dr. Pugh
 remarks, the Popes being head of the church
 become a problem? In the fourteenth, he in-
 troduces a question about procuring Bishops
 from France, without farther application to
 the Pope. In the sixteenth, he expresses his
 respect for him in these words: "Mr. Montagu
 " and others are sending or have sent to
 " Rome for his holinesses bulls, to beget
 " English calves. " In the same letter, which
 is addressed to Sir Kenelm Digby, he digni-
 fies those catholics, who apply to Rome,
 with the name of *fools*; and he adds, " Our
 " clergy is not worthy the pains you take for
 " them, nor will never dare (to act) (a)
 " without a Breve from Rome. " In the
 eighteenth, to the same gentleman, he repeats
 the compliment of *our foolish English catholics*,

of it were preserved untill 1773 in the Jesuits college at
 Ghent. In that year, many valuable MSS. on catholic
 affairs, belonging to the Jesuits, were irretrievably lost.

(a) These two words are substituted, from a motive of
delicate forbearance, to the original words, which are
 much more expressive.

and then subjoins; „ if the Independants do
 „ continue to second us, I fear not but Rome
 „ will content us; if not, we shall find satisf-
 „ faction elsewhere; and if the Pope will not
 „ send us Bishops, it must be done without
 „ him. „ If Holden did not forfeit the respect
due to the supreme pastor, he must have be-
 lieved, that *papal dues* were easily discharged.
 He had probably analysed them, as he had
 analysed faith, and had discovered, that the
 right of appointing the principal pastors and
 the quality of head of the church, were mere-
 ly the superstructure of the schools. (a)

The reader of Mr. Beringtons work must
 surely have remarked, that, by an easy
 association of ideas and affections, he every
 where canonizes those, whose chief distinction
 was to have struggled against established au-
 thority. In the midway between his panegy-
 rics of Holden and Blackloe, his republican
 pulse beats high, nor can all the severities
 inflicted upon the catholics by the stern Oli-
 verians, withhold him from giving a decided

(a) A short writing of Dr. Holden, which is not in
 his *analysis fidei*, will be found in the Appendix N°. XI.
 and may help to throw some light upon his character, and
 to discover the object which he and his party kept in view.

pre-eminence to the republican, above all other forms of government. (*) A few pages after, the glow of liberty still fermenting, he walks over the ruins of our monarchy in the last century, and doubts not, that, " had
 " providence indulged Oliver with a longer
 " span of life, the nation would *tranquilly*
 " have submitted to a control, the wisdom
 " and strength of which Europe viewed with
 " envy, and that to this day, perhaps, the
 " commonwealth had stood, firm, happy,
 " awful, magnificent, as was that of ancient
 " Rome. " (†) A man naturally likes to talk of what he loves, though he utter inconsistencies. The strong and wise control, which Europe is supposed to have viewed with envy, was that of the despotic Oliver; and if the pretended commonwealth, as it existed under that usurper, had been continued to the present day, it would not have been either happy, awful, or magnificent; it would have been, perhaps, the worst of all governments, the republican excepted; for under the false lure of liberty, the whole power would have been centered in one man, and what could have controled him?

 (*) *Mem.* p. 286.

 (†) *Ibid.* p. 299.

The next person, to whom I wish to address myself, is the R. Andrew Bromwich, who being condemned to death for his priestly character, in the time of Oates' plot, intended to deliver at his execution, a speech, which is recorded by Dodd. (*) Let Mr. Berington, answer for him. What solid proof has he to produce, that this good man took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy? He relates it as an undoubted fact; but I cannot find that it is any where recorded, nor do I think, that it can be inferred with certainty from the speech itself. The plural word *oaths*, which Mr. Berington prints in italics, is the only proof, which the speech affords; but is this conclusive evidence? It may be a mistake in the impression: it may be, that Bromwich took only the *oath* of allegiance, as it is usually called, though the instrument comprehends many distinct asseverations; and as Bromwich was detailing his several professions of loyalty, he would naturally consider these, as so many oaths, which indeed they were, and speak of them in the plural number. But it is not necessary to suppose, that he took even the oath

(*) Vol. III. p. 359.

of allegiance. In his situation, his business was to place his conduct in the most favourable point of view with the auditory, whom he intended to address. If he had taken either or both of the oaths; surely he would plainly have told such an uncommon circumstance, so favourable to his cause; surely Dodd would have mentioned it in the account of his life. He no where says in his speech, *I swore*; he repeatedly says, *I professed*. And what were his professions? They are detailed in the speech, and they regard only the well known duties of civil submission and loyalty; they are very different from the professions which are contained in the oath of supremacy. He was not then describing the professions, which are contained in this oath; and it cannot be inferred from his speech, that he ever took it. If it be still contended, that he took some oaths, (and this is the most that can be concluded from his words) it may be, that at his commitment or arraignment, to evince his loyalty, he publicly made the professions, which he details in his speech, and confirmed them in court, by solemnly invoking the name of God. If he never swore to more than to the *professions* in his speech, he never took the oath of supremacy, nor even of

allegiance. If he pretended that neither of these oaths contained more than those professions, the plea of invincible ignorance alone can excuse him. If it were required, I would willingly swear to whatever Bromwich says that he *professed by the oaths before his Majesties Justice of peace*; but I never could consent to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. If these conjectures have any force, Mr. Berington must alledge more distinct proofs of his assertion, before he can propose the example of Andrew Bromwich to the imitation of his brethren, in support of the oath of supremacy.

When Bromwich was tried and condemned, this oath consisted of two parts; by one of which the ecclesiastical supremacy of the sovereign was asserted, and by the other, that of the first Bishop was abjured. Soon after the accession of king William, the first part was abrogated in favour of the dissenters; but the second part was retained, as Burnet and others relate, in order to exclude catholics from the advantages, to which the dissenters were admitted. Mr. Berington finds that this alteration has rendered the oath *less complicated*; by which I presume that he means *less*

objectionable to catholics; (*) whereas on the contrary it must strengthen their conscientious difficulties, by explaining to them more fully the meaning of the legislature, which would with justice consider the acceptation of the oath in its present form by catholics, as a complete renunciation of catholicity. The oath of allegiance was not more effectually *cleared from every objection* (†) by the change which was made in it after the revolution. For this alteration, by the omission of the word *rightful*, merely favoured the delicacy of those subjects, who doubting of Williams right, were willing to swear allegiance to him as king *de facto*; but it was not calculated to relieve the scruples of catholics, whose main objections to it still subsist in full vigour, as Mr. Berington must know from very recent experience. The oath of supremacy, either in its ancient, or in its present form, can never be admitted by the professors of catholic religion. They can never allow, that the sovereign head of the state is supreme head of the church, or of any portion of the church; and if, in the full latitude of modern casuistry, they should attempt to soften the rigour of

(*) *Mem.* p. 372.

(†) *Ibid.*

the terms by flattering interpretations; the words of the oath thus melted down and newly modified by modern refinement, would import a meaning directly contradictory to the common acceptation, in which they are received, and they would shock every conscience, which respects the sanctity of an oath, and cherishes the virtue of christian sincerity. The admission and acceptance of the oath of supremacy might benefit a few noblemen and gentlemen; and we all sincerely wish, that the doors of parliament were thrown open to them by the legislature. If the oath proposed a few years ago had obtained the concurrence of the catholic body, the nobility and gentry might perhaps have attained this utmost object of their wishes; for as the principal clauses of it were borrowed from the oath of supremacy, so the real import of the two oaths was nearly one and the same. But English catholics would not submit to renounce in words any tenet of their faith, under pretence that those words signified something else, which *something* those words did not express. Every argument, which was advanced against that oath, will recur with redoubled force, if Mr. Beringtons scheme to introduce the oath of supremacy should

meet with countenance and support; and let him remember, that not one word of rational answer has been yet given to those arguments: they have been repelled only by protestations and appeals, and cries of slander, calumny and defamation. In case providence should permit Mr. Berington to erect the standard of schism among us; in case he should declare himself the *one bold man*, who is yet wanting *to dissipate the charm of prejudice*; (*) the voice of our pastors will instantly eccho throughout our congregations, to assure the people, that an adherence to his oath will be an effectual separation from the catholic church; and thus his followers will only consist of those few, who may be already disposed (to use Mr. Beringtons language) to break down *thin partitions*, and to range in *freer fields*. (†)

I willingly pass over the ensuing scenes of Mr. Beringtons comedy, to make a pause at the reign of king James II. We are told on the credit of I know not what *Transactions of the clergy*, that this prince refused to admit the appointment of apostolical vicars, whom, almost in the same page, he admits and che-

(*) *Ibid.* p. 11. (†) *Reflex. to J. II.* p. 56.

rishes, and to whom all the catholics in the kingdom submit, without any opposition or appeal. If a few of the men, who had clamoured the loudest against Rome for not sending Bishops, now clamoured against those who were sent; it was happily a vain effort of that same spirit of insubordination, of which we have already seen so many instances in the preceding years. It will be the duty of the future historian of our church to examine and to detail the reasons and the motives, upon which the Popes forbore, during so many years, to establish any episcopal jurisdiction in England. At present I will only remark, that this conduct of Rome authorizes a well grounded presumption, that the reasons alleged by the persons, who are so much blamed by Dodd and Mr. Berington for their supposed opposition to the establishment of Bishops, had really more weight and solidity, than those two confederates are willing to allow. I would not hesitate to subscribe to their censures of those men, if I knew, that their opposition had been moved against the establishment of the episcopal character and authority in our church: but it seems to have been directed against what they thought an unjustifiable assumption of power, and also against the

the

the ambitious designs of a few men, by whom they knew that this stretch of authority had been advised. The utmost consequence, which they inferred, was, that it was then an improper season to depute a Bishop into England; and they supported this consequence by reasons, drawn from the difficult circumstances in which our church then stood, both with respect to Blackloes cabal, and to the revolutions in the civil government and the dispositions of the persons, who exercised power during that eventful period. If I had time to collect, to discuss and to compare those reasons, I might perhaps give them more weight, than I feel myself at present disposed to allow to them. For upon a general retrospect to the situation of English catholics, from the retreat of Bishop Smith to the decease of Charles II, I am greatly inclined to think, that an earlier appointment of Bishops would have been highly advantageous to the interests of religion; and in the same degree, I shall certainly disapprove the conduct of the regular priests and of a great part of the laity, if I shall ever discover, that they set their faces against the government of the church by Bishops, and involved the general question in the consideration of the in-

conveniencies, which they suffered from the Bishop of Chalcedons measures, or in the prudential reasons, which may have rendered a delay in the appointment of Bishops at that time expedient. Certain it is, that the disturbances occasioned by the mistaken zeal of Bishop Smith, perhaps also by imprudencies in his opponents; the factious and ambitious pretensions of the Blackloists, which a Bishop would easily have checked; the general calamity of the times and the frequent persecutions which catholics sustained; and above all the constant reluctance of the civil power to admit and protect catholic Bishops, had hitherto deterred the court of Rome from deputing any superiors of the episcopal order into England. The accession of James II to the throne removed the main obstacle, and Innocent XI instantly embraced the favourable opportunity to establish a system of church-government among us, which happily perseveres to the present day, and has, for more than a century, secured advantages to us, which the wisdom and prudence of our community will surely be unwilling to forego. During more than a hundred years, the catholics, under this system, have enjoyed peace among themselves, (for I here forget the

late disputes upon the oath, which have now subsided) their Bishops have been equally respectable and respected; no ambitious pretensions to jurisdiction, no complaints of the actual use of it have distracted their harmony; the rights of the secular and regular missionaries have been known and maintained; the Pope has been considered as a common father; his decisions on our spiritual concerns have always been readily admitted; appellants and Blackloists have been buried in oblivion; — and shall this easy state be exchanged for the hollow reveries of a restless priest, who, to the extravagancies of Blackloe, has superadded all the incoherencies of modern philosophy? He pretends in vain to tell us, that the *clergy* opposed and *never approved* the present system, under which they have so long enjoyed tranquillity and respect: the reader now knows, how easily he prostitutes the name of clergy, to sanctify the misconduct of a few individuals. He attempts in vain to persuade us, that they *only acquiesced in it from a preponderating love of order*, (*), though, two pages before, he had informed us, that the new government had neither coherence

(*) *Mem.* p. 376.

nor order, but was, on the contrary, "such a
 "state of insubordination, disorganized and
 "anomalous, as had not before been seen in
 "the christian church." (*) He details to us
 in vain, (†) objections and remonstrances,
 stated against this *anomalous* government,
 from I know not what *Transactions relating to*
the secular clergy. The ignorance, which they
 betray, of the principles and nature of spiri-
 tual jurisdiction, are an ample proof that they
 were not the work of the clergy. They may
 have been the *disorganised* complaints of disap-
 pointment or discontent; and though I have
 no historical grounds to call them the work
 of Mr. John Sergeant; yet this gentleman's
 truly *anomalous* dissertation on *power*, which
 Mr. Berington with complacency calls *deduc-*
tions of reason, would almost authorize me to
 attribute them to him. (a) To give the cu-

(*) p. 374.

(†) p. 338.

(a) John Sergeant, an eminent Blackloist, whose con-
 troversial adventures are detailed by Dodd Vol. III.
 p. 472, &c. was originally bred to the protestant church
 at Cambridge; and having embraced the catholic religion,
 was ordained priest at Lisbon. He is the author of a
 system of controversy, entirely grounded on the erroneous
 principles of Blackloe, which he published in a book
 entitled *Sure Footing*. This book was attacked by catholic

rious reader a taste of these *deductions*, I will here copy, from Mr. Berington, (*) the concluding passage; and scholars know that this passage, as well as the first sentence of every learned work, has a prescriptive right to be nicely rounded, smoothed and veneered. “ They
 ” (the vicars apostolical) says the learned John
 ” Sergeant, have power given them under
 ” their hands to do this, and all power is
 ” essentially ordained for action: and yet this
 ” power is not to act, and therefore in effect
 ” is no power, but is disabled from acting,

and protestant divines, especially by Dr. Peter Talbot, catholic archbishop of Dublin; and it was defended in various tracts by the author. He seems to have possessed a small share of ill digested knowledge, much presumption, and an ardent temper, suited to the genius of faction and party. He was closely connected in friendship and error with Blackloe, and also with our famous unbeliever Hobbes. Among the catholics, he was usually called Blackloes *Philip*, in allusion to the secondary part, which Philip Melanchthon acted under Luther. He endeavoured to countenance Oates’ plot, by giving information to government of some idle and irrelevant conversation, which he pretended to have heard from Jesuits abroad. His MSS. are cited with much approbation by Mr. Berington. An ample account of his theological absurdities may be found in *Blackloanae haeresis hist. & confut. by Lominus.*

(*) p. 383.

„ which it could not be, but by a superior
 „ power. And what power can that be, but
 „ its opposite power, the extraordinary power?
 „ Wherefore the extraordinary or human pow-
 „ er is the commanding and over-powering
 „ power, and the ordinary, which is of divine
 „ institution, is the poor, weak, subservient
 „ power, and must not disobey it; that is,
 „ the divine power has no power at all, but
 „ what the human will allow it : for the world
 „ agrees, that the ordinary power is divine,
 „ and the extraordinary human. „ If the
 reader has *traced* the *evanescent line* of reason
 in this passage, or has mended his ideas on
 the nature of episcopal power, I wish him joy
 on his improvement. Some, perhaps, will be
 as little surpris'd, as I am, that the new
 apostolical vicars, in the reign of James II,
 civilly refused to new-model an established
 system of church-government, in compliance
 with the *deductions* of such theorists.

In spite of Mr. Beringtons predilection for
 John Sergeant and his system of episcopal
 power, there exists a lamentable difference of
 opinion between them; and I trust, that
 Mr. Berington will reserve it to form an ar-
 ticle in his book of *Retractions*. He uni-

formly maintains, that our English church and its jurisdiction never failed, but that the church continued *to be governed* (though all its governors were dead) by the *inferior* pastors. (*) This indeed is his favourite thesis upon this important point; and though it does not inspire him with any thing like gratitude to the seminary priests, who, continued on this happy government by *inferiors*; yet he deduces from it the right, which *rests with them alone* of *withdrawing their acquiescence from the irregular and abusive system* of apostolical vicars appointed by the Pope, and of *vindicating to themselves the rights of a parochial ministry*. (†) Mr. Berington will probably be able to shew them, how, in his new system, *inferiors* may be *superiors* or *governors*, without destroying the established order of relations; and how, by their *inferior superiority*, they may acquire parochial jurisdiction, though no *superior* governor should choose to confer it upon them. There may be little difficulty in demonstrating this; but it will require sound *deductions of reason* to reconcile all this with the doctrine of John Sergeant, who pleading with the new apostolical vicars for the continuance of the

(*) p. 42. & *alibi*.

(†) p. 446.

chapter, exposes the evils, which must befall English catholics at the death of the then existing capitulars, for want of a *standing ordinary jurisdiction* among them. The first of these evils is, that without this *standing ordinary jurisdiction* of the chapter, we *cannot properly be called a church*. (*) He acknowledges no other *ordinary jurisdiction*, but that of the chapter; and of course we had no church, before the creation of it in the reign of James I, and we have had none, since it expired in the reign of James II. It were a pity, that two such canonists should differ about the very existence of the church, which they are teaching us to govern. If they cannot be reconciled, I hope Mr. Berington will at least instruct us, how, in his system of *inferior governors*, we have escaped the many evils, which John Sergeant so wofully dreaded.

If we believe Mr. Berington, better days were then approaching. For *if providence had indulged Mr. Sergeant and his friends with a longer span of life*, (to use Mr. Beringtons language, where he deploras the early death of Oliver Cromwell) (†) if they could have

(*) p. 385.

(†) p. 299.

spanned only half of the current century; they would have seen all their *anomalies* reduced to regular concordances; *disorganised insubordination* yielding to the happy effects of subordination; a general system established, whence peace and concord might flow; every occasion of discontent removed; and rules laid down, whereby priests of every description, secular and regular, must be directed. (*) All this is effected by the briefs of Benedict XIV in the years 1745 and 1753. „ To his injunctions, says Mr. Berington, „ all submitted, and the happy effects of just „ subordination have been experienced. „ Verily I think, if John Sergeant could have spanned out another half-century, he would now have burnt his *deductions of reason*; he would have sung with joy the *Nunc dimittis*, and would have piously wished to be gathered unto Blackloe and his other forefathers. And yet, (such are the *anomalies* in the characters of men) this happy state of things does not yet satisfy Mr. Berington. Instead of *submitting to the injunctions* of Benedict XIV, he publishes throughout England appeals and protests against the prelates, who execute and enforce them. Instead of submitting to Bi-

(*) p. 412.

shops, which Benedict XIV *enjoins*, he excites others to disobey them; instead of maintaining their authority, he would overturn the whole system, under which they enjoy it. What an anomalous man! Is he sure, that any other system, except that of the Throckmortonian poll, would please him more?

I have animadverted upon this part of Mr. Beringtons performance principally for the sake of observing, that the application made to Rome in the pontificate of Benedict XIV, which Mr. Berington magnifies into a quarrel, was one of those regular recourses to a superior power, which must happen in every government; that it was prosecuted on all sides in the most legal form *by deductions of reasons* presented to the acknowledged judge, whose decision was received with respect, and has been ever since obeyed without reluctance. It occasioned no cabals, no protestations, no appeals, no reclamations of privileges or exemptions, not even, as far as my knowledge goes, any private murmurings or complaints. Would to God, that all papal decisions on spiritual government in the days of Elizabeth and James, had been equally respected! Strange must have been the misconcep-

tions or prepossessions, which induced Mr. Ber-
 ington to exasperate such a proceeding into a *re-*
fractory disposition, a *reluctance to obey*, and an
undervaluing of episcopal jurisdiction. (*) Since
 the arrival of the Popes briefs in England, and
 the publication of his orders, I may safely defy
 him to produce a single instance of refractoriness,
 or an act of disobedience to episcopal jurif-
 diction, untill the late unhappy period arrived,
 when he himself became so eminently guilty
 of both. I conclude then with asking, with
 what conscience this man can advance this
 odious aspersions, that the present secular and
 regular clergy of the western district are men,
 " the majority of whose ancestors, if not
 " themselves, have resisted, in defence of idle
 " immunities, the canonical jurisdiction of
 " Bishops in all times and in all seasons? " (†)

The remaining part of Mr. Beringtons
Supplement relates to matter too fresh in the
 recollection of the public, to need any stric-
 tures upon it. Persons, who have read the
 several publications, which it occasioned, will
 be able to pronounce upon the degree of cre-
 dit, which his narration deserves. Those,

 (*) p. 413.

(†) p. 448.

who have only heard the eccho of that noisy controversy, without having studied the principles, the political views, the disappointments, and the resentments of the men, who occasioned it; may form a judgment from what they have here read, whether I pass over Mr. Beringtons account of it, through any inability to detect his sophisms and to rectify his mis-statements. The multitude of them, which I have hitherto redressed, may be my warrant, that if I spare him in this latter part, my forbearance cannot arise from dread of an adversary, whom I have hardly surprised in an historic truth from the beginning of his book. The anticipated refutation of his statement of facts may be read elsewhere; and he is not the man, whom I will indulge with a review of a controversy, which I would rather consign to a future historian, to be related, when it may give instruction, without reviving animosities. At present, in closing these remarks, I will entreat the reader to observe, how exactly the three parts of Mr. Beringtons book demonstrate the reality of the *intentions*, which, as I stated in my address, influenced him in the composition. To beat down papal and episcopal jurisdiction, to vilify those who support it, to intro-

duce a new-modelled hierarchy, even with the risk of creating schism, is the main object of the whole work; and to effect it, he has pursued the track of other innovators, he has falsified history. Without that artful address, with which genius can sometimes deck out a false phantom in the garb of truth; without even an appearance of respect for his catholic readers, he has here grossly presumed upon their total ignorance, even upon their absolute stupidity. He tilts at spiritual authority wherever he meets it. Those, who at any time have opposed it, must be canonized; twenty appellants at one period, half a dozen Blackloists at another, become the body of the catholic clergy; and this venerable body, in the first instance, dwindles to a few *young and ignorant men, allured or intimidated by Jesuits*; (*) in the second, it is degraded into a band of *ignorant and malevolent bigots*. (†) Every thing under Mr. Beringtons management changes its nature; facts as well as sentences are continually presented with the wrong end upwards; and all this might perhaps pass for history, if we British catholics were really as *ignorant and destitute of educa-*

 (*) P. 54.

(†) P. 294.

tion, as Mr. Berington has proclaimed us to be. (*) *A man of some letters* has an advantage in telling stories to his *ignorant, ill-educated, and unfashioned* brethren: but when he insults our understanding to such a degree, as to suppose us capable of believing the preposterous, incoherent and chimerical tale of Panzani, he must then surely suppose us to be still more *narrow-minded*, more *deficient in native talents* than he pronounced us to be thirteen years ago; (†) he must harbour the same contempt of us, which by his own account, the earl of Shaftesbury expressed of the British nation, when he said of Oates' plot, "the more nonsensical, the better: if we cannot bring them to swallow worse nonsense than that, we shall never do any good with them." (§) I trust however, that British catholics are not entirely bereaved of sense, and if they forgive the insults of their reviler, they will not be misled by his wild narrations to countenance his attacks upon power, which it is now their peculiar duty and interest to respect. They know, that if a spirit of insubordination has sometimes tainted a few mem-

(*) *State and Behav.* p. 162. & passim.

(†) *Ibid.* p. 129.

(§) *Ibid.* p. 63.

bers of our religious community, it has always been checked and subdued by that mighty engine, which God has planted in his church, spiritual authority. Authority, essentially requisite in every government, is frequently galling to human pride; and when innovators affect a zeal for the propagation of their opinions, it is not real concern for their doctrines or their *extravagancies of genius*; it is hatred of authority, which goads them forward. They loudly claim freedom of opinion, and an unlimited toleration of all religious doctrines; they affect to style their own errors by the gentle names of *harmless theories*, or *ranges in freer fields*; and when their opponents use the same liberty in refuting their novel doctrines; these refutations are intolerantly decried as bigotry, superstition, enthusiasm and superstructures of the schools, and Holden, the admirer of Blackloe, is called in to analyse our faith, and to ascertain what we may and what we may not believe. Catholic priests on the contrary look up to their Bishops and to the supreme Bishop for information on disputed points of faith or of discipline; and when these prelates have pronounced, the doctrines of Blackloe immediately shrink into the class of human opinions, which

ambitious men would superadd to the depositum of faith. Mr. Berington improving upon his model, advances in a more direct line. Instead of cavilling about opinions, he attacks his enemy in front, and at once invites the clergy to rally around him and to *withdraw their acquiescence from that irregular and abusive authority of their Bishops*, which is the eternal object of his hostility (*) He knows that every new attack may contribute to impair it; and as he glories in the deeds of the ancient appellants, so also he exults in the opposition of his modern Staffordians against a principal part of that authority, the integrity of which is necessary to maintain the purity of religion and the respectability of its ministers. Future Beringtons may qualify this opposition as the act of the catholic clergy, though this body has testified the most unequivocal disapprobation of it, and would now be glad to see Mr. Berington stand like Ismael, single-handed and unsupported, in his war against that authority, which they so much respect. *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra illum.* If his twelve associates have seen his errors in doctrine; if they blush to have adopted one

(*) *Mem.* p. 246.

of them in their public *appeal* to the catholics of England : if they dislike his dangerous political tenets; if they acknowledge the divine authority of our Bishops ; they will surely remember with regret, that they have unwarily joined him in an attack upon that authority, and that if their first mistake may be viewed with compassion, their perseverance in it, in defiance of the known truth, will at length be blamed, as culpable obstinacy. *Duo sunt, quæ in errore hominum difficillime tolerantur : præsumptio priusquam veritas pateat; & cum jam patuerit, præsumptæ defensio falsitatis. (*)*

(*) *S. Aug. L. II. de Trin. in Proem.*



of them in their public appeal to the Catholics
of England: if they dislike the dangerous
political tenets; if they acknowledge the divine
authority of our Bishops; if they will truly
remember what respect, what they have
themselves joined in an attack upon that autho-
rity, and that their first mistake may be
viewed with compassion, their perseverance
in it, in defiance of the known truth, will at
length be blamable, as culpable obstinacy. Also
that, even in errors, honest dissent is tolerable
and: perspicuous perspicuum variis potest & cum
tam patenti, perspicue de fidei substantia. (*)

(*) 2. Aug. 1. 11. de fide in fideam



COPY of a Letter from the R. Mr. MILNER,
to the author.

S I R,

I HAVE read the heavy work, which Mr. Berington has thought proper to intitle *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*. Poor Abeillard! It is evident to the world, that he is playing a losing game; otherwise, piquing himself, as I know he does, on command of temper, he would certainly not thus egregiously lose it, when it most of all concerns him to preserve it. I was prepared to excuse some little fallies of impatience; but surely in those pages, in which he had nothing to object to his adversaries, except their alledged want of moderation, common decency ought to have prescribed some bounds to his resentment.

Mr. Beringtons mode of reasoning and acting is throughout incomprehensible. Some years ago he undertook to gain the respect of the nation in favour of the catholics, by representing them, according to your just observation, as *a collection of fools and beggars*, (*) and to establish its confidence, by maintaining, whilst penal laws yet hung over our heads, and catholic navies threatened an invasion, that “the government which” is best inclined to give us protection, has the “only right, to our allegiance.” (†) At present, this excentric genius pretends to conciliate the regular clergy by a general abuse of them, and to win over the secular clergy to his plans of reform, by describing the patrons, the founders and the ornaments of our seminaries as the *ruin* instead of the *support of their religion*.

For more than twelve years the catholic Bishops and clergy have indignantly beheld whatever was most dear and sacred in their eyes, become the sport of this frivolous writers wild and inconsistent reveries. At length, Sir, you have called him to a just reckoning for a part of his absurdities and errors, and in so doing, you have rendered a most acceptable service to every upright and pious member of our communion. Too weak to defend, and yet too haughty to retract these errors, he is reduced to the miserable resource of

(*) *Remarks on &c.* p. 15.

(†) *State and Behav.* p. 43.

pretending, that he has not read your work, in which the charges in question are contained. Will the public, which has perused your work, give credit to this assertion? Can you and I and Mr. Beringtons three chosen friends admit it, after having heard him reproach you, that you had not taken all the advantage of him in your late work, that you might have done? I am glad to know, Sir, that it is your intention to extend your *Remarks* to this new masterpiece of our modern Abeillard; and though by the issue of your past contests with him, both by writing and word of mouth, I am convinced that the cause is in good hands; yet I feel an anxiety, that some notice should be taken of the passages, in which I have the honour to be personally concerned. If the following remarks on those precise passages should accord with your general plan, you are welcome to make use of them in any way you shall think proper.

Mr. Berington introduces his remarks upon me by complaining that my late work is intitled *Ecclesiastical Democracy detected*. It is the first intimation I have received, that the name of *Democracy* is unacceptable to Mr. Berington and his friends. The truth is, that in most works, which are written upon a plan different from *The memoirs of Panzani*, the title page is an abstract of their contents. If I have not proved my thesis, was it not Mr. Beringtons business to shew this? He next complains that "every step which he took in running

„ through my book was painful to him. „ I have
 no authority to deny this assertion; and I may
 add, that when I sat down to write my work,
 most assuredly I did not calculate it for the amuse-
 ment of Mr. Berington or of those, who think
 with him. „ The terms, he says, which are most
 „ familiar to me, are *Heretic*, *Schismatic*, *Impos-*
 „ *tor*, *Hypocrite*; which however, he tells us, „
 „ are not always broadly spoken, but only im-
 „ plied. „ (*) How *terms* can be *familiar* to me
 which I do not *speak*, but which others imply,
 is a paradox in Mr. Beringtons usual way. In the
 mean time it is certain, that it has never been
 asserted or even implied by me, that either Mr. Ber-
 ington or his lay friend, was an heretic or a
 schismatic. I have only demonstrated, that the
 latter has published writings containing heresy and
 schism; which points if Mr. Berington thinks
 proper to deny, I am ready to contest them with
 him, as I have three times done with the layman.
 As to the other ungentlemanlike words, which
 I am accused of having adopted, I must plead
 guilty to the charge. The fact is, when I find
 Mr. Beringtons friend, like Mr. Berington himself,
 in one part of his work recommending the oath
 of supremacy to be taken, (†) and in another
 asserting that the human law „ which enjoins
 this oath, „ militates against a divine appoint-

(*) *Pref.* p. xxj.

(†) *Second Letter* p. 26, &c.

ment; „ (*) I have no other term expressive of my idea on the occasion, than that of a *glaring inconsistency*. Again, when I hear the same gentleman, in union with his chaplain, tell the catholics, that 124 priests, who suffered in the reign of Elisabeth „ were martyrs to the deposing power, „ not to their religion; „ (†) I know of no softer expression, with which I can characterize the mischievous falsehood, than by calling it a *malicious misrepresentation*. Finally when the same author reproaches me, in common with the rest of the catholic clergy, and in the face of the legislature, that by reason of „ our present ecclesiastical „ government, neither my principles nor my allegiance are secure; „ (§) I cannot help telling him, in the same public manner, that what he advances, is an *unblushing falsehood*. It is however remarkable, that Mr. Berington, whose delicacy is so much shocked with these terms, can, in the very next page, reconcile himself to the use of language, which he could never have heard any where, but among the collieries of Birmingham.

We are next presented with a flaming panegyric on Mr. Beringtons patron Sir J. Throckmorton. With this I am little disposed to quarrel: on the contrary, I give Mr. Berington credit for his gratitude to a gentleman, to whom he has great

(*) *Ibid.* p. 93. &c. (†) *Further consid.* p. 103.

(§) *Ibid.* p. 166.

obligations : but why is not this sentimental writer equally sensible of past, as he is of present favours? You, Sir, have reminded him of a good old man, beyond the high mountains, at whose expense he was fed, cloathed and educated during many long years, (*) of whom all honest men speak well, except Mr. Berington, whose constant lessons to him were, to fear God, to honour the king and to love his brethren; and yet Mr. Berington is not ashamed to express a wish, that his old benefactor were stripped of all his property, and is never wearied with misrepresenting him, as the tyrant of his spiritual children and the enemy of this country.

The panegyric in question is introduced in order to account for the long controversy which has taken place between the lay gentleman and myself. On this head, Mr. Berington would have the public believe, that it was, *after* the northern and southern districts were provided with Bishops, that the layman addressed his letter to the clergy, which, he intimates, contained nothing but a mere “ innocent theory, intended for the amusement of the learned, ” totally unconnected with practice, and that it was just sinking into oblivion, when I raised it into a flame, “ by throwing stink-pots upon it. ” (†) My untutored rudeness, Sir, would call this statement, a *malicious misrepresentation*. In fact the laymans letter bears date *July*

(*) *Remarks*. p. 12.

(†) *Pref.* p. xxxij.

12. 1790, which was some months prior to the appointment of the Bishops of the northern and southern districts. Independently of this, Mr. Berington, who boasts of his being « well acquainted » with the works of his patron, » could not be ignorant, that the main drift and tendency of his letter was, to induce the London clergy to re-assemble and to elect the gentleman, « whose nomination, he complained, met with opposition » at Rome. » (*) It was not then *under an impression that a departure had been made from the usage of venerable antiquity*, as Mr. Berington asserts, (†) that the lay gentleman wrote his letter; it was to induce us to depart from what we know to be the practice of the universal church, by appointing Bishops to two vacant districts. It was not a speculative *theory*, proposed for the amusement of the learned; it was a practical call upon the whole body of the clergy, to new-model their ecclesiastical constitution. This essay would not have fallen to the ground, if it had not been answered, if we may believe the author of it, who informs us, that his only reason for noticing his opponents was, that he had come « to a determination of reprinting » his famous letter, which he accordingly performed. (§) Finally (and of this Sir I hope you will remind the public)

(*) *Letter on appointm. &c. p. 23.*

(†) *Pref. to mem. p. xxij.*

(§) *Furth. consid. p. 41.*

the system that was recommended to us, was not an *innocent* one, as Mr. Berington signifies, but the self same mischievous plan, the adoption of which has torn the French nation from the living body of the church. It is true, Mr. Berington waves the only point, which it concerns the public to know, by a device, which might least of all be expected from him, namely, an avowal of his ignorance of the matter in debate. I am not, he says, a competent judge. Thus the only thing, which Mr. Berington is ignorant of, is precisely that, which has been determined by the lawful authority of his Bishop, who amidst the applauses of the surrounding prelates and of the chief pastor himself, have pronounced that the system in question is *erroneous, schismatical, and contrary to the faith of the church.* (*) He takes care to preclude the only excuse that a catholic could set up for his pretended ignorance, by confessing that he has seen the pastoral letter of the Bishops, which however he ridicules by asking, “ if any one can tell, why ” the pastoral letter brings to his mind a merry play of Shakespear? ” I have studied this riddle with the attention due to the enigmas of a great man, and I can find no other solution, except that the pastoral is entirely made up of quotations from the holy scriptures, the councils and the Fathers : for it is observed, that in proportion, as any subject is solemn and sacred, it is most apt

(*) See *Pastoral Letter* Dec. 26. 1792. p. 21.

to excite the mirth of Mr. Berington. I have also studied another riddle, which he proposes, when he terms my book of *Democracy* a *Prologue* to this merry play of the *Pastoral*. To this I am confident no other answer can be given, except that my work was printed and published several months after that of the Bishops.

If you, Sir, should adopt any of these observations, you will also remark, that though Mr. Berington declares himself *an incompetent judge* of his patrons system, which he intimates to be *an innocent theory*; yet he afterwards gives it up as untenable, by confessing, that the office of confirmation or institution of Bishops now resides exclusively in the Pontiff of Rome. (*) In conformity with this doctrine, you will observe, that Mr. Berington no longer calls upon us, as his patron did, to carry the fortress by storm, that is, to give ourselves ordinary Bishops, and to get them instituted by the first prelate, who will charge his conscience with the farcical ceremony; but to begin a blockade by teasing and bullying the Pope and our prelates into the same measure. (†) As far as this modification bespeaks conscience, I give Mr. Berington credit for it. But will not every honest catholic expostulate with him in the following manner. If it be true, that we cannot have a lawful Bishop, unless the Pope institute him; With what face can you pronounce a panegyric on

(*) *Supplem. to mem.* p. 291. (†) *Ibid.* p. 470.

those writings, which call upon us to resist the Pope in the discharge of this duty? With what conscience can you insult the guardians of the flock, when they condemn the doctrine in question, as if they had been employed in censuring an innocent theory?

If, Sir, you are pleased to adopt the substance of the above stated observations, you will gratify me in a point, which I have at heart. As to the pun, which Mr. Berington builds upon the circumstance of my being a member of a certain learned society, and which he employs instead of argument through ten whole pages, (*) I think he may be left in possession of it. It may perhaps pass current in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, though every where else it will be cried down as counterfeit; and to speak the truth, he owes some pleasure to those, to whom he has given so many just causes of pain. I think it also useless, Sir, to defend either me or yourself against the charges of being *Pharisees* and *Hypocrites*, which the author in the abundance of his charity brings against us. (†) For the question before the catholic public is not about our respective merits or demerits, but about the orthodoxy and the truth of the doctrines, which Mr. Berington has laid before them on one hand, and yourself and I on the other. Hence I would only consider the accusations in question in a doctrinal view, I mean, with respect

(*) *Pref.* p. xxij. &c.

(†) *Ibid.* p. xxv. &c.

to the orthodoxy of the principles, on which he founds them. To prove that we are not Christians, he argues in the following manner. " They blazon
 " their faith and they make wide their hope ; but
 " the greatest of these is charity, which evidently
 " they have not. I am then authorised to say,
 " that they are not christians ; for they want the
 " virtue, that is essential to its nature. Can there
 " be a man, that is not a rational animal, or a
 " brute that is not sensitive. ? " (*) If this egregious specimen of grammar and logic be admitted, alas how have we all been hitherto imposed upon by our elementary books of instruction, which inform us, that what constitutes a christian is,
 " inwardly to believe and outwardly to profess the
 " faith and the law of Christ. " (†) But I forgot, that Mr. Berington, dissatisfied with our catechisms, calls for one of a more comprehensive kind, that may equally suit Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians and Quakers ; nay I presume I must add Deists also, if room is to be allowed in it for Mr. Beringtons philosophical doubts, with which you have charged him, concerning *the very end for which we were created*. If my christianity must remain problematical for want of my being able to prove my charity to Mr. Beringtons satisfaction, I have the comfort to know that, according to the same system, I am not in a worse condition than those, who have hitherto thought themselves Christians, let

(*) *Ibid.* p. xxvij.

(†) *Dowry Catechism.* p. 1.

them belong to whatever church they may. For Mr. Berington roundly asserts that, "all churches" are intolerant, and as such uncharitable" (*) and of course, according to Mr. Berington, "unchristian." What now would any one suppose is the proof, that a preacher of the gospel, bound by the nature of his profession and by a solemn oath, to labour until death for the salvation of souls, brings against a brother preacher, in order to prove that he is a Pharisee? Namely, that the latter, on a certain occasion, professed a solicitude for this important object. The fact, as you well know, is that Mr. Berington having acknowledged in our hearing and in the hearing of his three friends, that *he had advanced many things in his writings, which he could not justify and even much more objectionable positions than those, which you had charged him with*, I thought it advisable to remind him, in my late work, but in decent and conciliatory terms, of the necessity there was of *retracting these errors*, on account of the detriment they might be of, to the souls of many persons. In return, Mr. Berington tells me, that my anxiety on this head, proves me to be of the family of the Pharisees. Since I am not allowed to address Mr. Berington as a priest, be pleased, Sir, to inform him, that I call upon him as a man, to avow that in public which he is forced to own in private, and to disabuse the

(*) *Refled. to J. H. p. 30.*

public of those errors, which he admits that he has propagated.

In the passage to which I have just referred, our writer is angry with me, for preferring the authority of Mathew Paris to his own, for the genuine text of the constitutions of Clarendon, and for having pointed out his inconsistency in professing to defend the cause of one, "who" died as martyrs have died, "and yet in asserting that "this same cause wears but few marks" of truth." Let those, who please, be vain of Mr. Beringtons compliments and dedications; for my part, judging from the literature and logic which he has hitherto displayed, I shall never repine to have him for my antagonist, but heaven preserve me from ever having such a defender!

If Mr. Berington would condescend to read beyond the title pages of the books which he reviews, (*) I should be happy to discuss the remaining passages in which, as he says, *he unwillingly notices me.* (†) I would join issue with him on the question which he has started, whether, in the existing circumstances, which I have stated, there was more honour and conscience in our Bishops retracting the famous signature, or in their seeming to adhere to it, admitting that the original deed, which was presented to Parliament, were still in existence; but I have

(*) *Pref. to Mem.* p. xxix.

(†) *Supplem. to Mem.* p. 443.

proved that this has been destroyed, and a corrupt copy placed in the British museum instead of it. (*) With equal pleasure I would weigh the six objections, which as I have proved, (†) stand in full force at the present day against the oath of James I, and which Mr. Berington, in his usual way, sneers at, because he is unable to answer them. (§) Finally, as Mr. Berington is so fond of recording his own disgrace, (**) I would once more expose the treachery of that Janus-like oath, contrived by the few persons, who were in the secret, to present one face to catholics, and another to protestants, and thus to deceive both. But as matters stand, I am sensible that this and every other kind of argumentation would be lost upon a writer of Mr. Beringtons turn, who not only refuses to answer books and arguments which are inconvenient to him, but also professes not to read them. (§§) There is then but one writer, whose authority I can, with any prospect of success, oppose to him, I mean, that he will admit of, and that is Mr. Berington himself. If you have room, Sir, I beg you will publish the following short specimen of Berington against Berington, on some of the leading points, in which his late history differs from mine. You well know that the present contrast might be swelled to the

(*) *Eccles. Democ.* p. 305. (†) *Ibid.* p. 208.

(§) *Supplem.* p. 428. (**) *Supplem.* p. 435.

(§§) *Pref.* pp. xv. and xxxiv.

bulk of almost all Mr. Beringtons heavy publications, as there is hardly a position of any importance, that he has asserted in one page, which he has not contradicted in another.

PHILOSOPHIC CONSISTENCY

OR

BERINGTON *versus* BERINGTON.

The oath of supremacy.

1. One bold man, by taking the oath of supremacy, may dissipate the whole charm of prejudice and restore us to the most valuable privilege of British citizens. *Introd. to Mem. p. 11.*

2. With what admirable precision are the difficulties, that hang over the oath of supremacy, thus removed,

1. You know the oaths we refuse to take... the subject of them is as much of a religious nature, as the sacrament itself of the Lords supper. We are required by these oaths... to declare... that he, whom we consider as the head of our church, has no spiritual pre-eminence over us. *Address to the Protest. Dissent. p. p. 27. 28.*

2. With regard to that particular arrangement, which appoints the king head of the church, we avow, it is true, our

Rr

and its clauses reconciled to catholic belief! *Supplem. to Mem.* p. 325.

3. Neither before that period nor since, have there been many found, whose minds were as enlarged, and whose discrimination was as accurate, as were the mind and the discrimination of Andrew Bromwich (who according to Mr. Berington took the oath of supremacy in the reign of Charles II;) *and therefore has his example been lost upon us.* *Supplem. to Mem.* p. 326.

4. I strive, not, I hope, successfully to imbibe his (A. Bromwich's) spirit and copy his virtues. *Suppl.* p. 325.

dissent from it. *State and Behav. of E. C.* p. 152. I wish to know, what idea a Protestant affixes to the word *heretical*, which in the oath of supremacy he applies to the deposing doctrine. *Reflect. to J. H.* p. III.

3. The most respectable part of the clergy (in the reign of Charles II) declared their disapprobation of the oath (of supremacy) because, they said, it obviously renounced the plenary jurisdiction conferred by Christ on Peter, and through him, on his successors, of feeding and governing the universal church.

4. We have men, who sound their own trumpets. *Pref. to Mem.* p. xxvj.

Jurisdiction of the apostolic see.

1. So universal and undefined had the power of Rome been (at the accession of Elisabeth) call it ecclesiastical or

1. They (the Catholics in the reign of Elisabeth) admitted as a part of their religious belief, a certain suprema-

spiritual; ... that the primitive rights of a first Bishop could with difficulty be traced, and the whole fabric of his jurisdiction seemed rather to be the contrivance of human ambition on the one side, and of weak concessions on the other. *Introd. to Mem.* p. 78.

2. How then should a state proceed, convinced that such a paramount jurisdiction was incompatible with its sovereignty, than at once to break down the whole mass? *Ibid.* p. 78.

3. Conscious at the same time that their decrees would not affect what was really divine and primitive. *Ibid.*

cy of jurisdiction, which tho' in itself no real cause of jealousy, was then often misconceived. *State and Behav.* p. 17.

2. The Bishop of Rome is our principal superior, as he is the supreme head of the catholic church: but all his power being wholly spiritual, has no relation to civil government. *Ibid.* p. 125.

3. The subject of the oath of supremacy (enacted by their decrees) is as much of a religious nature, as the sacrament of the Lords supper. *Address to Prot. Dissent.* p. 27.

Conduct of the Catholics in Elisabeths reign. Justice of the penal Laws.

1. If the catholics had never sought by indirect means, to have vexed her Majesty with designs against her

1. I will take upon me to assert, that during the long period of forty four years, during which Elisabeth swayed

crown, . . . if the Jesuits had never been agents in those bloody designs of Throckmorton, Parry and Squires, . . . most assuredly the state would have loved us, or at least have borne with us; there then had been no speech of racks and tortures &c. *Introduct.* p. p. 35. 36. cited from Watsons libel by Mr. Ber- rington, in support of his own reflections.

2. The cause of the many severities exercised on Catholics were the enterprises of disaffected men. *Introd.* p. 70.

3. None were ever vexed, for that he was either priest or catholic. *Watsons libel as above.*

the sceptre, her popish subjects, though *oppressed and persecuted*, were not guilty of *one act* of treason or rebellion. *State and Behav.* p. 26.

2. The catholics *little merited the treatment* that fell upon them; and consequently the laws of her (Elisabeths) reign were tyrannical and unjust. No just cause was ever given to provoke the enactment of the pena llaws. *Ibid.* p. 184.

3. The prisons were filled with delinquents, whose sole crime was praying in the manner their consciences directed. *Ibid.* p. 35. Elisabeth resolved to return thanks (for the defeat of the armada) in a sacrifice of human victims. There was not the smallest guilt amongst the thirty priests, who then suffered. *Ibid.* p. 24.

4. It was not for any tenet of catholic faith, that the clergy were exposed to prosecution. *Introd.* p. 34.

5. They (the missionary priests) seemed to consider themselves as the subjects of a foreign master, whose sovereignty was paramount and whose will was supreme. *Ibid.* p. 34.

6. They had returned with commissions from Cardinal Allen and his holiness under the positive inhibition of the law, to disturb the established faith of the country, and to bring it again under the controuling jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop. *Ibid.* p. 25.

4. whoever denied the Queens supremacy, was made guilty of high treason. *Introd.* pp. 5. 6. To receive the order of priesthood abroad, to exercise any spiritual function... were made acts of high treason. *State and Behav.* p. 26. The laws had now declared the profession of their (the catholics) religion to be treason against the state. *Ibid.* p. 21.

5. The catholics universally acknowledged her (Elisabeths) title, and on every occasion were ready to support her dignity and defend her civil rights. *They only did not think her the spiritual head of their church.* *Ibid.* pp. 26. 27.

6. It is said, that popish priests have an unbounded zeal for making profelytes. Were it true, I see no reproach in the charge. It proves that they are sincere in their religious belief, &c... *Ibid.* p. 64. See also *Mr. Beringtons college oath.*

The Seminaries.

1 Our ancestors were unwise in founding foreign houses of education. *Ibid.* p. 23.

2. This secession (of Cardinal Allen and other catholics) I lament. Had they continued the practice of their religion in retirement... had they distributed instruction, without clamour, to those that claimed it &c. *Ibid.* p. 20.

3. If we had founded no foreign seminaries, we had provoked no penal laws. *Ibid.* p. 29.

4. In (these) seminaries, machinations, some real, some fictitious were incessantly practi-

1. This scheme (of founding seminaries abroad) was the only means now left of preserving from utter ruin the small remains of catholicity in England. *Ibid.* p. 171.

2. The catholics were now *compelled* to seek for education in foreign countries. They were compelled to retire for education to Rheims and Rome. *Ibid.* pp. 16 and 17. *To worship God after the old form was prohibited* in public and private. *Ibid.* p. 25.

3. It was a cruel stretch of despotism to subject those, who should send their children abroad, to hard penalties, and at the same time not to allow them to be educated at home, unless they took oaths, which in their conscience they thought unlawful. *Ibid.* p. 171.

A rumour was spread, that in the colleges at Rheims and Rome, to which places the catho-

sed, as it was rumoured,
against the queen.

lics had been compelled
to retire for education,
a plot had been formed
to subvert the govern-
ment and to destroy the
queen. Never was there
a more groundless char-
ge; for... it possessed
not one single atom of
the most distant truth.
Ibid. p. 20.

Doctrine of Submission.

1. In one instance the
catholics were highly
blameable. They were
pusillanimous or impoli-
tic enough to permit
the spurious offspring of
Henry VIII., whose dis-
positions they well knew,
to mount the imperial
throne of England. The
consequences of this pal-
pable misconduct they
and their children have
severely felt. Our fellow
sufferers in France, (the
Huguenots,) would have
played a better game.
Reflect. to I. H. p. viij.

1. All the Bishops and
clergy, to their praise be
it spoken, in silent re-
signation bowed their
heads (to the establish-
ment of the Reforma-
tion.) To restore their
religion by violence &c...
were rules of conduct,
which, under more than
the common irritations
of human passions, they
nobly disdained to fol-
low. *Introd* pp. 15. 16.

Oath of King James I.

1. Many catholics,
whose principles were
sound and loyal, se-

1. The oath (of Ja-
mes I.) was drawn up,
either from design or ig-

riously desired to offer a *political test*. In this view the oath of allegiance was framed, to which, it was thought, every catholic would cheerfully subscribe, who did not believe the Bishop of Rome had power to depose kings and give away their dominions... The oath, when tendered, was taken by many catholics, clergy and laity, and a ray of returning happiness gleamed around them. But a cloud soon gathered on the seven hills. *Introd.* p. 76.

2. Cadwallador and Drury died, &c. because they would not declare, that the Roman pontiff had no right to dethrone princes. (that is, they refused to take the oath of James I.) *Ibid.* p. 85.

The exploded oath of 1791.

1. What is false in the sense of that proposition (viz that the Pope may depose princes) is false

norance, in terms which were likely to raise difficulties, and to perplex the tender consciences of the best disposed. They who framed it, wished rather to divide than to conciliate the party. By some it was approved and taken; whilst others equally well inclined, considered it as bearing hard on tenets, in which they thought religion was concerned. The non-jurors, who were far the most numerous, were, by these means, exposed to daily vexations. To complete the business, the Roman pontiff.. interfered. &c. *State and Behaviour* p. 33.

2. The oath of James was rejected, not merely for its renunciation of the deposing power. *Supplem.* p. 427.

1. The word *damnable* I dislike. To me it conveys no idea; or if any, it says too much, in

in all its concomitant analogies, that is, is *impious*, is *heretical*, is *damnable*. *Supplem.* p. 427.

(when applied to the deposing doctrine). I wish to know, what idea a Protestant affixes to the word *heretical*, which in the *oath of supremacy*, he applies to the deposing doctrine. *Reflect. to J. H.* p. 111.

It is to be remembered, that the exploded oath rejected the deposing doctrine both as *damnable* and *heretical*, in the very terms of the oath of supremacy, and probably for the purpose of smoothing the way to the adoption of this latter. You have observed, Sir, that Mr. Berington announces two new works; one against the Pope, *Pref.* p. xix. and another in defence of the oath of supremacy. *Introd.* p. 2. I wish that this sample of his *philosophical consistency* may serve as an antidote against both. I should be still more pleased, if it could withhold him from making them public. But when would he take advice? I fear that I have too much reason to address him with St. Austin *contra Cresc. gram.* L. 2. c. 12. *Quomodo sperem te auditurum quod dico, qui tam in proximo non audis ipse quod dicis, cum tibi continuo contradicis?*

Winton, Sept. 30. 1793.

I remain Sir yours, &c.
JOHN MILNER.

Ss

I enclose 21. yours, &c.

CHILLING WIND



APPENDIX.

N^o. I.

Letter of Mr. COLLETON to F. GARNET.

VERY REVEREND SYR,

UNwillingness to shew myselfe eyther too quick in taking or over tender in brooking injuries hath heatherto stayed both my tongue and penn from dew questioning and complayning. My own eares have witnessed, and my friends every where give me to understand, how sinisterlye I am talked of for wronging (I use but that one term, albeit many much harder are reported of me) the fathers of the societie. These are therefore to beseeche you to acquaint me with those particulars, wherein I have reproveably miscarried myself in word, deede or demeanure against you, or any of you. I expect my full charge, and do no way desyre you to leave any pointe untouched, or not amplified to the most : adding, that the playner you deale with me herein, the

better cause I have to like you; advertizing besides, that for saving some of your friends credit, . . . it importeth to alleadge the most you can against me I would not willingly dwell in ignorance of my synnes, or omitt satisfaction, where I am bound to make it. Thus in breefe you have my request I pray you afford me performance with the soonest. Fare you well, with very good will, though the course, if with your privitie, followed against me, sheweth little good will. November 5^o. By him whom playnness in the premises maketh more yours

J. C. &c.

F. GARNETS answer.

MY VERY REVEREND SYR,

IF you be sinisterly talked of for wronging our society, blame not him, I beseech you, who for all your strangeness, ceaseth not to love you. . . . It hath always been my desyre, synce that we purged ourselves (I hope sufficiently) from the malicious flanders of some impudent libellers, that all things should as much, as is possible, be utterly forgotten; and if all could not be induced to love and affect us, to bear their aversion with patience and silence, without following any course against them: so that, if you heare any sinister report against you, you may examine them best,

whether they be trew; and the reporters are to give account, upon what ground they utter them.....

It pleased his holiness of late to ordaine a certaine government amongst us. It hath been receaved with singular liking of the most and best; and God forbid, but that I and all my brethren should have been most ready to runne whither charity and obedience did call us, least by disobedience we should contemne our superiors, or by schism and division be cutt off from the head. Some have refused to acknowledge this head, much more, to obey him. Their pretences are in every ones mouth, that hath heard of this authoritie; that it is a thing devised by the Jesuits, the superior is one of their own chusing; why should the Jesuits appointe us a superior, more than we a general unto them? It is the fine head of F. Parsons, that hath invented this: he hath given wrong informations to the Cardinal and to his holinesse. The Cardinal was always partial on the Jesuits side. Some of necessity must be sent to inform better. They must procure that some assistants must be chosen, who may not be partially affected to the Jesuits. They must also propound to have the government of the college enlarged, as being over strait, yea they must make suite, that the Jesuits be removed from the government of all seminaries of our nation; and touching the mission of England, in particular, all the Jesuits must needes be called away.

These speeches and the like being uttered by such as gathered voices for another government, or are known to disfavour this; what can it argue else, but that such oppose themselves against the society; as if no authoritie were to be liked, but that which may beate down the Jesuites, or sett them and other reverend priests together by the eares?

And verily the successe of matters, synce the authoritie of our reverend archipresbyter was divulged, doth make many to fear, least the secret intention, (not yet perceaved of all) of those, who sought to erect a sodality or other superiority and subordination, was either ambitious or seditious. For now that they have that very thinge, which they sought for, (although imposed on other persons, than they wished) to reprehend and impugne the same must needs make men suspect, that they doe it because they themselves are not chosen, or because such were not chosen, as might deale peremptorilye with those, whom they ought to tender: both which affections shew them doubly unworthy of government. For what is so unfit for honour, as ambition, or what have we donne, that all should not affect us? Yea by Gods great goodnes so it is, as we thinke, that if any affect us not, the fault is in them, not in us. So that if they would have themselves, or others, who do not affect us, be chosen heades; let them first affect us so far as in virtue they may, that they may be worthy of government.

Then you see, good Syr, it wanteth not pro-

babilitie, that if any give out that you wrong us; it is because you are thought to draw back from the archipresbyter... And though I verily perswade myselfe, that most of those speeches never proceeded from your mouth; yet those that wil be part of a discontented company, of course must be content to beare the reproach of many thinges, which are done or said amiss by a fewe, it being impossible, that all men should distinguish and apply every particular to the trew author.

And verily as it grieveth me oftentimes to heare, and I reprehend it so often as I heare it spoken, that such a one or such another, who is not joyned to the archipresbyter, is condemned as opposite to the society; and I condemne such manner of speech for a fallacy, (for in very deepe I would not have them reprehended, because they are opposite against the society, but because they acknowledge not their lawful superior) so on the other syde I must acknowledge, that these two thinges are so annexed one to another, that whosoever is opposite against our R. archipresbyter, must of force be consequently opposite against us, and therein we will glory *in domino*, if any be thought opposite to us, who are opposite to him.

Therefore good Syr, there is nothing I more desyre, there is nothing can be more honorable and profitable for yourselfe, than that you unite yourselfe to him, whom God hath made your superior, and this is the only meane to joyne us all together in perfect love and union; which

we had long synce enjoyed , if his authoritie had been admitted , as at this present there is no hinderance at all of unity , but the refusing of the same. So that by experience we find trew that which S. Paul most worthily said , *non tenens caput ex quo totum corpus per nexus &c.* and the cause of this refusing the head he expressed before , *frustra inflatus sensu carnis suæ.* With this head therefore must I hould ; to him must I be united ; to him must I cleave. *Qui illi conjungitur meus est ; qui cum illo non colligit , spargit.* And unfeynedly I affirme unto you , that I continually pray in particular for your union unto him , in respect of the love I have borne and beare unto you , which shall not decay , although you would , with never so great contrariety of judgments and opinions : and thus wishing you to follow that , which is most to the glory of God , and your own souls health , I cease Nov. 9. 1598. Your plaine friend as you wished ,

HENRY GARNET.

N^o. II.

*Sacerdotum WISBICENSIVM literæ ad
P. H. GARNETUM.*

COntulimus inter nos ab heri & nudiustertius , venerande pater ac frater , de meliore disciplinâ , propter ea quæ apud nos intra septennium emerferunt vel mala vel species mali , vel aperta scandala ,

dala, vel obventura pericula scandalorum, & deprehendimus justitiam nostram non esse tam inculpata vitæ (utinam fuisset) ut requiescere debeamus ultra in illa fiducia Sanctorum, *lex non est posita justo*. Quin potius experientia edocti & eventu rerum difficillimarum eruditi, æmulamur legem & quidem legis animam ipsam, judicem, vindicem, censorem. Quem tandem, inquis? Edmundum tuum vel potius nostrum (P. Weston) quem adhuc, pro instantia nostra quotidiana, nec votis flectere, nec verbis frangere possumus, ut assumat onus pro levandis cervicibus nostris; immo suffragiis nostris electus, uno ore, pleno consensu, incunctanter electionem hanc nostram, quantum potuit, impedivit, & etiam tristi responso castigatos dimisit, dicens; Revera Fratres tentatis imponere mihi onus impar viribus meis, quod nemo assumit, qualis ego sum, homo sub potestate constitutus, qui habeo superiorem, cui servio in auditu auris coram angelis Dei, ut dicat mihi pro arbitrio suo, vade fili, & vado; veni huc & venio; fac hoc & facio; proin hoc dictamen tanti momenti & ponderis, addo & gravaminis, quo ego magis oneratus quam honoratus ero, sic mihi assumo, si ita vultis & oportet fieri, ut annuente Patre meo vobis placeam, renuente verò, mihi ipsi satisfaciam. In hac repulsa quid agere debeamus, venerande pater, certe integrum non habemus; nisi tamen pro tua humanitate & prudentia velis hunc filium tuum & patrem nostrum, virum nobis tam multis nominibus necessarium, in tam gravi

sollicitudine, pari in causa communi, jacentem excitare tuis commonitionibus, hærentem in argumentis expedire, ut auctior factus in suo jure, non cunctetur amplius ac agat lentius, sed ambulet coram nobis fiducialiter in via recta, id est, in via justorum. Res ipsa postulat flagitatque: idcirco Reverentiam tuam hortamur enixe & obtestamur in visceribus D. N. J. C. ut lectis articulis nostris hisce inclusis & nominibus infra subscriptis, opportune re provisa, velis & jubeas Edmundum reddi nobis totum, quem expetivimus solum, & designavimus unicum, præter quem, neminem alium eligere, cum quo neminem alium consistere voluimus; hoc enim sancte & religiose inter nos definivimus. Vale pater & frater nobis conjunctissime, & noli abesse longius in excessu prudentiæ; quin accede potius, ut tangamus invicem, maxime vero ut animi nostri contingant in tam bono centro disciplinæ. Quem reddis, redde quamprimum, ut rei suapte natura gratae, quantam insuper possis, gratiam adjicias. Dat. Feb. 1595. Revæ. V. studiosissimi Lud. Barlous, Jac. Powellus, Gul. Parry, Gul. Chadocus, Rob. Nutterus, (postea martyr an. 1600) Thom. Bramstonus, Leon. Hydus, Joan. Boltonus, Joa. Greenæus, Alex. Gerardus, Ric. Strangewaies, Thom. Haberley, Christ. Dryland, Edm. Bradock, Rob. Woodroff, Rod. Biclæus, Ægid. Archerus, Christ. Sothworthus.

N^o. III.*Litteræ P. HENRICI GARNET.*

R. IN CHRISTO PATER,

Pax Christi. Mitto ad R. V. exemplar litterarum à quibusdam, imo fere omnibus presbyteris Wisbicensibus, quibus mirum in modum gratulantur R. D. archipresbytero nostro de concredita sibi à SS. Domino nostro potestate. P. G. Westoni ac carissimi nostri Thomæ Pondi nomina, quoniam ii nostri sunt, non attinebat apponere. Novit optime R. V. horum virorum gravitatem atque auctoritatem. Similes litteras plurimas antehac accepit idem R. D. archipresbyter & quotidie etiam accipit ab optimis presbyteris. Societas nostra universa illi intime conjuncta est. Et de laicis hoc affirmo, nunquam quicquam illis accidisse jucundius, quam hujus archipresbyteri promotionem. Eodem plane momento, quo ad hæc scribenda calamum arrepturus fui, adfuit mihi à primario viro catholico amicus quidam, illius nomine mihi significans, si vellem, paratum se esse & suum chirographum dare & præcipuorum quoque nobilium procuraturum, qui huic sacræ hierarchiæ applauderent. Quod ego tamen recusavi, ne ex suis appositis nominibus aliquid ipsis periculi conflaretur. Neque vero opus est contra paucissimorum schisma tam periculosa remedia adhibere. Ne igitur credat R. V. illis, qui

forte gloriari velint se quadruplo plura suffragia contra hoc SS. D. N. decretum conferre posse, quam ipsi D. archipresbytero collata sunt. Nam neque suæ sanctitatis iussu ex juvenum quorundam inquietorum suffragiis pendere aux examinari par est; & ipsi fortasse pro se afferrent multorum à se emendicata suffragia, qui, cum superiorem aliquem à sede apostolica postulaturi essent, mox perspecta SS. Domini voluntate & lectis Illmi. protectoris literis, in uno isto archipresbytero libentissime conquieverunt. Excipio tamen paucissimos quosdam; qui quum ipsi, aut à se designati, gradum aliquem honoris consecuti non sunt, ambitionis stimulis agitati, ea, quæ optimo consilio ac bonorum plane omnium applausu perfecta sunt, infecta reddere præpostere moliuntur. R. V. precibus ac sacrificiis me plurimum commendo.

R. V. servus in Christo

5 Octobris 1598.

HENRICUS.

*Literæ presbyterorum WISBICENSIVM ad
R. admodum Dominum archipresbyterum.*

ADMODUM R. PATER ET DOMINE,
ET si lectis illis tuis literis de autoritate archipresbyteratus à sede apostolica recepta per Illmum. Cardinalem Cajetanum Angliæ protectorem gavissimus, & viva voce testimonium perhibuimus de recognitione nostra filiali & obedienciali, in conspectu fratrum, qui ad nos commeare solebant ut

internunciis, nihilominus ut peramplius deferamus summo pastori nostro, cui perinde est vel per seipsum statuere, vel per alium delegare; ac ut tibi gratulemur in primis, qui nobis omni ratione vir desideriorum es, five ad refarciendas ruinas in communi ædificio, si quæ sint, five ad præcavendas futuras: ac insuper ut ne videamur assentiri illis qui forte nimis importune sperant de electione aliqua facienda magis canonica, in hac dispersione fratrum, ut nos sumus, & consequenter etiam appellare satagunt ad primum motorem, pro retractandis rebus tam mature tractatis: decrevimus omnes nos quorum hic subscripta nomina contemplaris, emissam semel vivam vocem consignata manu vivacius confirmare, tum ad dictam obedientiam nostram summa alacritate contestandam, non solum primario fonti, sed & inde deducto venerabili rivo; tum ad intimandam omnem nostram acceptationem, cum ingenti gaudio & lætitia. Deo opt. max. indefinenter gratias agere pro tali rectore, & preces ad ipsum fundere pro felici successu, ut debemus, non cessabimus. Pridie calendas Octobris. 1598. Ad imperata R. V. paratissimi Fratres Lud. Barlous. Christ. Drilandus. Rob. Woodroffus. Gul. Wiggs. Gul. Chadocus. Rod. Bicleus. Christ. Sothworthus. Joa. Boltonus. Joa. Greenæus. Edm. Bradocus. Ægid. Archerus. Alex. Gerardus. Leon. Hidus. Tho. Haberleus. Gul. Clerionetus. Rob. Nutterus. Tho. Bramstonus.

21 Ex Soc. Jes. in eodem carcere Gul. Westonus anno incarcerationis 12. Tho. Pondus incarcerat. an. 21.

N^o. IV.

Communes literæ plurimorum in Anglia sacerdotum ad SS. D. N. CLEMENTEM VIII, datæ 8 Nov. 1598, transcriptæ ex exemplari manu propria P. H. GARNETI exarato.

BME. PATER

OLim dicebamus toto divisi ab orbe Britanni. Nunc autem per hæreses dicimur & sumus (quod dolendum est) à totius orbis primaria urbe, hoc est, ab apostolica vestra sede aut divulsi miserè magna ex parte, aut levissime segregati. In tanta tamen omnis pietatis strage apud nos, quia ex misericordia Domini omnes consumpti non sumus; ut reliquæ de rebus inter se digladiari non possint, sed salvæ existant, vestræ sanctitatis pastoralis cura providit, & jussit ut omnia inter nos per institutionem Illmi. D. Cardinalis Cajetani sic referantur ad ordinem, ut quasi membra suo quæque loco locata, nos summa in pace vivamus ad gloriam Dei, & ad vestræ supremæ auctoritatis in cathedra Petri facilem & promptam defensionem. Hoc, consentientibus sensibus, nos omnes agnoscimus, & conscriptis nominibus, quàm grate & quàm lætis animis & erectis exceperimus, quasi publica nostra testificatione no-

tandum esse putavimus. Quod propter ingravescentes persecutiones, licet omnium fratrum nostrorum comparatis indiciis & chirographis firmatum non sit, tamen non dubitamus, quin omnes rectis sensibus euntibus in hoc unum inclinatione voluntatum libentissime incubuerint. Confidimus in Domino, quod jam armis prudentiæ vestræ tuebimur causam catholicam contra omnium adversantium impetus, quantumcunque illi stimulis nos foderint, contumeliis laceraverint, equuleo distenderint, & extrema morte membra nostra cruentaverint. Etenim propter unitatem domus Dei, cujus hodie est rector Clemens VIII. nos hæc omnia in lucris ponimus, si modo divina gratia adjuti, humilitatem, modestiam, obedientiam, & charitatem coluerimus; ad quæ quidem per vestram suavissimam dispositionem satis vocati, eruditi & quasi facti sumus. Pro hoc igitur tam ingenti & singulari beneficio quamvis in referenda gratia Beatitudini vestræ minus satisfacere possumus, tamen in prædicanda & habendâ satis indicare concursus officii nostri suppliciter ac demisse volumus: atque illud provoluti ad pedes vestros humillime petimus, ut quo spiritu excitastis amplissimum D. Protectorem nostrum ad dandum præscriptum nobis valde opportunum & salubre pro litibus ordinandis & conservatione & propagatione fidei apud nos, eodem velitis novas & iteratas accessiones facere & paternæ vestræ curæ & apostolicæ charitati, erga laborantem vehementer & inclinatam & prope jacentem patriam nostram; ut quæ ad progressum in pietate & commodum

avitæ religionis pertineant, illa non contracta sed extenta manu vestra conferantur, ad omnium afflictorum inter nos communem & necessariam consolationem. Deus qui dedit vobis sapere ad ædificationem pacis in ecclesia, idem ejusdem felicissimum successum vobis cum longissima vita & incolumitate concedat.

Londini, in Octava omnium Sanctorum. Beatitudinis vestræ humillimi filii subscripserunt Georg. Blackwellus Archipr., novem sacerdotes ejus assistentes, & alii quinquaginta septem sacerdotes sæculares, & duodecim è Soc. Jes. Alii, qui potestatem faciunt cuilibet presbytero eorum nomina subscribendi, quia ipsi hoc facere non poterant, fuerunt, qui hic nominantur, assistentes duo; sex de Soc. Jes. & alii sacerdotes viginti & quatuor. De aliis sacerdotibus triginta & quatuor nullo modo dubitatur, quin subscripturi sint, cum conveniri poterunt. — Ita Garnetus omnia nomina recensens, quæ hic brevitatis causa omittuntur. Solummodo hic attexuntur nomina aliquorum, qui postea martyres fuerunt. Hi sunt Rob. Nutterus, Edw. Thwingus M. M. 26. Jul. 1600. Rob. Middeltonus M. an. 1601. Thom. Sprottus, Thom. Palaferus M. M. 1600. Joa. Thulesius M. 1616. Hi omnes actu jam subscripsisse dicuntur; sequentes asseruntur certo esse parati ad subscribendum. Joa. Locwodus M. an. 1642. Joa. Roberts postea Benedictinus, uti videtur, & M. an. 1610.

N^o. V.

*Extract from Instructions given by F. Nic.
SMYTH to the Jesuits JACKSON and
HUNT, going into England. Dated
May 26. 1602.*

F. Parsons, by reason of his great businesse, not having leasure to write himself at this time, hath committed this office to me. . . . You have heard, or may and wil hereafter hear of the dissention and discord among the priests, and the evil affection, which some of them seeme to beare towards the Archpriest and our fathers. Concerning this point, by F. Parsons' order, I am to enlarge myself a little. His opinion is, and so he hath often written and would have you inculcate earnestly in his behalfe, when you shal be arryved in England, that it behooveth our fathers very much, as also the archpriest, that they be very circumspect and careful in their speaking and wryting; and if any should exceede in words or deedes, never to repley upon them; for that were contrary to the prohibition of the apostle, *reddere maledictum pro maledicto*; but rather to dissemble all, that each one may say with David, *Cum his qui oderunt pacem, eram pacificus*. And this is not only his opinion, but the will of his holiness and

of F. General, who having seene here a certain appeale made by the unquiet, though for the substance thereof they condemne them, and their disobedience and uncivill demeanure towards their superior; yet observe alsoe and much mislike the manner of proceeding used by the archpriest, and his friends, and wish he had shewed more mildnesse. For although they attribute all to his great zeale, yet they hold, it had been much better to have dissembled many things and to have referred them hither; yea they are offended to see such multiplying of edicts and threatening of censures in so sharpe phrases, as are set down in the appeale. And to come to our fathers, some wrytings and sayings also of theirs in this affaire have been mislyked by his holiness and F. General, and especially the treatise of Schism, in regard of the vehement exaggerations uttered in more sharp termes, than they think was befeeming a religious person to set downe, and therefore could serve no other end, but to exasperate more the sick and sore mindes of those passionate men, as experience hath taught. His hope is therefore, that hereafter they will be more wary.

N^o. VI.

Letter from F. PARSONS to Mr. MUSH.
July 31. 1602.

S I R,

THe grace and peace of our saviour be with us all. There are now many months, since we are in Rome together and never yet talked together friendly, nor conferred charitably of our affaires, as it seemeth to me that we might, without prejudice of any suits depending before our superior, and that our duties did binde us thereto. I have sought it by many meanes, as you know, and you and others have fled; *Deus judicet inter nos*. There hath passed a Lent, a holy week, an Easter, Whitsunday, Corpus Christi, Trinity feast, and other holy times, that should have moved men of our coate and profession to inward consideration; but I have seen no effect. The scandal is public both heer and elsewhere; heretickes are animated, good people afflicted, our church divided and discredited; *est qui requirat & judicet*. The fault of this is like to lye heavy at the day of judgment, whersoever it lighteth. You pretend injuries received. Suppose it were soe; is this a meete revenge to divide the catholikes of England in this sort? If you think,

for that you have begun, you must needs go forward; you know the apostle accounts animosity for a damnable sinne: What would he say of it, in this particular case, where you flye all manner of christian reconciliation? If you think, that we would flye, or delay hereby the determination expected at his Holinesses handes, you are deceived; for we desire and presse it more than you, and we doubt not, but when it cometh, it will shew, how little cause you had to make these scandalous broiles in our English church, which you have, or other men upon this occasion, whom you must not think to be able to staye or retaine as you will, being once set on work by these meanes: and this is perhaps the worst and most dangerous circumstance of all this affaire, if you consider it well. Wherefore I beseech you in the sight of almighty God, who is to take a rigorous account of you and us all, that you beginne by time to cooperate to the remedy. And for that I understand diverse waies, that you proceede in offering me injurious words and calumniationes in most places, where you and your fellows doe come, (from whom you cannot denye to have received love and friendship in times past, and shal never be able to prove to have received injury) and seeing that I cannot attaine to have conference with you, to informe you aright in such misconceites, as you have apprehended, I do flye to the refuge appointed by our faviour, charging your soule in his sight, (especially when you go

to the altar to offer up that dreadful sacrifice) that there are dyverse brethren of yours (especially myself) that have many things against you of great moment , wherein they require reconciliation , or at least wile , some atonement or satisfaction , being ready alsoe to yield the like for themselves , wherein they shall be justly demanded. This is my requisition both to you and your fellows. What Christ our saviour disposeth and appointeth in this behalf , you know : What his grace will move you to doe , he onely knoweth ; to Whom I commend you hartily as myself in my poor praiers , from the English college , this Eve of St. Peter *ad vincula* , a good occasion to make us remember our brethren in durance at home , whose afflictions are not a little increased by this division. 31. July 1602. Your loving brother and servant in Christ

ROBERT PARSONS.

*Ejusdem ad sacerdotes appellantes Romæ Lutetiam
reversos literæ.*

Postquam Lutetiam vos pervenisse incolumes intellexi , visum est his literis eam vobis absentibus impertiri salutem , quam coram non licuit , ab hac urbe discedentibus ; quod sane ut facerem , hæ inter alias me impulerunt rationes. Primum ipsamet ineuntis anni auspicia , cujus an exitum visuri sint ii omnes aut eorum aliqui , inter quos habita est

supperrima controversia, solus Deus novit, de omnibus tamen vix sperare licet, deque meipso minusquam de multis. Illud unum certissime scio nullam vel graviolem vel periculi pleniorlem causam ad tremendum illud tribunal nos comitari posse, quam si rei inveniamur vel minima ex parte ferendarum vel alendarum inter fratres discordiarum. Et quamvis ad me ipsum quod attinet (sit Christo laus) conscientia mea omni me hac in parte culpa liberet; cum tamen, quod scitis, à viro longe justiori illud verissime dictum reolam, *non in hoc justificatus sum*, fateor & meam & aliorum imbecillitatem, & me terrent gravissimæ illæ Christi Dni in eos omnes, qui sunt quacunque ratione huic sceleri obnoxii, comminationes. Quare sicut nunc finita lite non libet quemquam accusare, ita meas esse partes putavi non modo meam ipsius (ut potero) cum Deo conscientiam componere, verum pro viribus aliorum etiam animos pacare ac serenare, qui certe is scopus est, quo potissimum tam istæ quam aliæ tendunt literæ, quas ad veteres meos amicos nuperrime perscripsi.

Alia deinde accessit seorsim causa, cur ad vos speciatim quatuor, dandas omnino literas esse existimarem, eo quod, nimirum non exiguo, ut verum fatear, meo cum dolore, in vestro ad urbe discessu, neque me ipsum alloqui neque alios vestros veteres amicos & fratres in animum induceretis; etsi ad hoc ipsum ego vos & literis & nunciis invitarem, eo quod cuperem & publicæ externorum ædificationi hac ratione consultum, & privatis nos-

tris conscientiis & animis ut esset satisfactum, atque alia sperarem inde nec pauca consequi potuisse commoda, præsertim per suam sanctitatem terminata jam lite ac controversia. Nunc vero pro certo intellexi, idque ipsomet referente, qui vobis vestraeque potissimum causæ fuerat hic patrocinator, nobisque nunc omnibus peramanter favet, fuisse ipsummet præcipue in causa, ne ex voto nobis inter nos convenire liceret: ad quam rem se affirmat sua Excellentia fuisse commotum, ne inde reginae nostrae justa daretur offensa, quæ vos vestramque causam regi christianissimo ea conditione commendaverat, ne Romæ cum iis, quos pro hostibus ac inimicis habet, commercium haberent. Quare cum cernerem aliunde potius quam à vestra voluntate hoc ortum fuisse impedimentum, magis animatus sum ut hæc ad vos scriberem; inque spem veni, non adeo futuros vos à pace mutuaque redintegranda concordia alienos, uti nonnulli ex ejusmodi vestro hinc discessu fuerant conjectati. Præterea cum hoc ipso tempore in manus meas ex Anglia venisset recens quoddam edictum, quo communes nostri adversarii de nobis utrisque in rem suam loquuntur quæ liber, atque in plerisque sane de utrisque quæ sunt & falsissima & odiosissima confingunt, tandemque concludunt communiter utrosque tanquam hostes & adversarios è regno patriaque esse pellendos; hinc etiam non minima data est causa ad vos imprimis & per vos ad reliquos perscribendi, ut quando hæretici hac inter nos abutuntur dissentione ad communem nostram evertendam causam, nos vicissim

ad eandem adversus eos tutandam unanimiter nos jungamus, & ut sicut ipsi nos pænâ, ita nos ipsi nosmet uniamus affectu, ad eisdem ipsorumque conatibus, ut ante, obsistendum. Quod salutare planeque nobis nostræque causæ necessarium consilium si istic vos vestrique in Anglia inire voluerint, quod nos ex intimis præcordiis, uti novit Christus, exoptamus; confidimus futurum ut brevi admodum, bene favente Deo, se omnia recte habeant, atque confundatur Sathan, omnesque ipsius administri, qui conati sunt periculosissima hæc & perniciosissima discordiarum zizania inter nos superfeminare atque fovere. Hoc ut ita succedat, Christum ipsum communem Dominum obtestamur, cui nos per ipsius gratiam cooperari parati sumus; idemque de vobis aliisque in Anglia confidimus; atque ego me tam ipsorum quam vestris plurimum commendo precibus ac sacrificiis. Romæ, 1. Januarii 1603.

NB. Neither Mush nor the appellant deputies vouchsafed to give an answer to these letters.

N^o. VII.*Informatio de Statu Rei Catholicæ
Anglicanæ.*

*Ad Illmum. & Revmum. Dnum. Decium CARAFFAM
Damascenum Episcopum, etiam Nuntium Aposto-
olicum pro Belgio designatum.*

EX quo primum tempore permisit Deus, ut propter scelera in hæresim Anglia prolaberetur, tunc simul in remedium multos doctos & pios viros excitavit, qui murum se opponerent pro domo Dei, qui erectis deinde Catholicorum Principum pietate Apostolicæ imprimis sedis benignitate seminariis, quoscunque allicere poterant, ad restituendam avitam fidem una convocabant.

Verum huic operi adhuc quasi in femine existenti se communis hostis opponens, non hæreticos tantum, sed hæreticorum etiam astu, Catholicos contradic-
tores suscitavit; & hi quidem, vivente adhuc Car-
dinale Alano, obstiterunt, multo autem maximè
eodem jam mortuo, quod plurimi cum in regno
Angliæ Sacerdotes essent, qui trecentorum fortassis
numerum excederent, nec ullus inter eos superior
vel subordinatio esset, aliqui, ut in confusa mul-
titudine sæpe fieri solet, (maxime id clanculum
molientibus hæreticis) motus & tumultus faciebant,
& ambientes in fratres prælaturam, & contra so-

cietatis Jesu Patres, cæterosque iisdem adhærentes, quos plurimos optimosque esse sciebant, injuriose machinantes, suffragia undique in hunc finem corrogabant: quorum omnium certior factus Pontifex post maturam deliberationem Archipresbyterum constituit, qui cum duodecim sibi assignatis Assistentibus omnia moderaretur & cui omnes obedientiam præstare tenerentur.

Constituto Archipresbytero, plerique, ut par erat, se illi submisere; sed prioris tumultus assignani, aliis aliquot sibi adscitis, cum bonorum omnium dolore, & multorum scandalo, huic ordinationi refragantur, partim electionis modum, quod absque eorum consensu ac consilio fieret, partim Cardinalis Protectoris literas, quas etiam promulgaverant, quod invalidæ ad tantam rem & tam multis testificandam essent, causantes.

Ad hanc litem dirimendam Pontifex Breve suum in Angliam transmisit, Protectoris literas confirmavit, sacerdotes paternè admonuit, jussitque ut Archipresbyterum tanquam superiorem agnoscerent, & ei in omnibus obtemperarent; verum nec sic acquiescere volentes, sub novo injuriarum & gravaminum prætextu, denuo ad sedem Apostolicam appellationem parant, & quod deterius est, ad eam prosequendam, aperte jam à Catholicorum persecutoribus Reginæ Serenissimæ. Consiliariis opem implorant, qui id è re sua fore ad Catholicos vel labefactandos, vel etiam extirpandos rati, oblatam sibi occasionem avide arripiunt; mox tres ex appellantibus solvunt e vinculis, & litteras suas patentes, quibus

impune per Angliæ provincias curfitare possent, & negotia tractare, sponte illis concedunt, sævientes interim in alios, & aliquos eorum afficientes supplicio & martyrio, &c.

Admissa demum à sanctitate sua illorum appellatione, quam quatuor procuratores Romæ coram duobus S. R. E. Cardinalibus ad id deputatis prosequiebantur, rebusque omnibus discussis, finem tandem summus Pontifex imposuit, benigne illis multa concedens; Archipresbyterum tamen jam tertio in suo officio stabilivit, decrevitque inter cetera, ne sub excommunicationis censurâ ipso facto incurrendæ Appellantes quicquam cum hæreticis in Catholicorum præjudicium deinceps tractarent; qui tamen reversi in Angliam coram Consiliariis aliquot, totius rei gestæ seriem exponunt, imo eorum unus, isque natu maximus, mox se ad pseudo-episcopum Londinensem contulit, in cujus ædibus magna cum bonorum offensione aliquamdiu habitavit.

Archipresbyter & qui ab illo erant, ne in minimo à Brevis Apostolici præscripto recedentes omnia solícite satagebant, quæ ad pacem & unionem inter eos conservandam refarciendamque spectare videbantur. Ex appellantibus interim aliqui non minus quam antea cum Consiliariis in Anglia, & Reginæ Oratoribus extra Angliam libere agunt, & multa quotidie excogitant confinguntque, quibus lites suas & discordias interminabiles reddant, & figmentis hisce nuntiorum Apostolicorum aures, cum in Gallia, tum etiam in Belgio per suos fatigant, & ut nihil desit ad cumulum, jam denuo alios procu-

ratores ad sedem Apostolicam destinarunt, ut semper nova molientes, sub specioso pacis titulo, pacis ipsius fibras & radices prorsus excidant.

Quare cum Illma. & Revma. dominatio vestra in Flandriam profectura sit, quo plurimi ipsorum confluunt, ne ipsi, vel per ipsos hæretici sibi imponant, atque ut eos à sanioribus melius fecernat, operæ pretium erit eorum, quibus tutò fidem adhibere possit, nomina attexere, per quos de reliquis suspectæ fidei hominibus, rebusque nostris Anglicanis plene certòque poterit informari.

R. P. Prior Domus Cartusienfis Anglorum Mechliniæ.
 P. Gulielmus Baldwynus Societatis Jesu Bruxellis, cum reliquis omnibus ejusdem ordinis & nationis Patribus.
 D. Thomas Vorthingtonus S. Theologiæ Doctor & Seminarii Anglorum Duaceni Præses.
 D. Thomas Vrightus S. Theologiæ Doctor, Decanus Cortracensis, & à sua sanctitate prædicti Seminarii visitator constitutus.
 D. Cæsar Clemens S. Theologiæ Doctor; Sermo Alberto à sacris & Decanus S^{ti}. Petri.
 D. Robertus Cramberus Anglarum Monialium Confessarius.
 D. Joannes Nortonus nobilis ac presbyter.
 D. Richardus Sherwoodus ex familia Illmi. & Revmi. Nuntii Apostolici per Belgium.
 D. Gulielmus Stanleyus eques auratus Colonellus, & Sermi. Alberti in rebus belli à consiliis.
 D. Hugo Odoenus nobilis.
 D. Thomas Studderus eques auratus.
 D. Rolandus Stanleyus Capitaneus.
 D. Ricardus Bayleyus.
 D. Ricardus Verfteganus.
 D. Georgius Personius.
 D. Gabriel Colfordus, cum plurimis aliis nobilibus, Capitaneis, &c. quorum nomina Clarissimus D. Colonellus indicabit.

Hi sunt, quibus tutò fides adhiberi posse videtur, atque ex his, qui sint suspectæ fidei, prout sese offeret occasio, facile cognoscet; unum tamen, qui in Belgio perpetuò residet, & reliquorum ibi omnium Dux & Coryphæus existit, nominandum tantum duximus; is vero est Doctor Gulielmus Giffordus Insulensis Ecclesiæ Decanus, cujus cognatus ejusdem nominis, illique conjunctissimus Gilbertus Giffordus causam aliquando prodidit & explorator pro Consiliariis Anglis contra Cardinalem Alanum cæterosque Catholicos factus, demum Parisiis captus, faustusque omnia in vinculis obiit; à cujus morte iste Gulielmus semper turbas excitavit, Appellanti-
bus adhæsit, & ab aliquot annis, ut fertur, clandestinum commercium cum senatu Anglicano exercuit, & modo cum Regis in Belgio Oratore secretiora agitât consilia. De reliqua vita, qualis ea sit, aliqui eorum, quorum supra recensuimus nomina Illmam. & Reymam. Dnem. vestram possunt reddere certiore.

N^o. VIII. (miscalled V. in p. 151.)

*Letter of F. PARSONS to F. WILLIAM
HOLT residing in Bruxelles. Dated
Genua March 15. 1597.*

F Rom an Italian abstract of it, which was translated from the English in Parsons' own writing. A great part of it is printed in the book *Manifestation of folly and bad spirit* 1602.

A note for F. W. Holt and such other confident friends, as he shall think good to communicate the same withal. 1. The principal causes of this my journey are, to settle with his holiness and F. General, all such points, as shall seem necessary for the upholding of the seminaries of Spain, Flanders, Italy, and of the mission of the society to England: and therefore whatsoever shall offer itself to you about any of these points, to wit, for faculties, government, privileges, maintenance or the like, I pray you and other friends to advise me with the best speede; for I mean to procure, that my abode in Italy be as little as may be; and so I have promised in Spain, and for divers reasons it will be necessary.

2. If I can do any good also in compounding or ending the troubles of the English Roman seminary, and of our controversies between those of

our nation elsewhere, I shall do my best. At least I hope I shall make his holiness and other principal persons understand the true causes and grounds thereof.

3. About the matter of the succession, my meaning is to propose to his holiness the true state of the case; how necessary it is for his holiness to think seriously and speedily upon it, that, after the death of the Queen, the government may not fall into worse hands; that the English catholics only desire, after her Majesty, some sincere catholic prince, without respect of English, Scottish, Spanish, or other nation.

4. That he (Parsons) is not an enemy to the king of Scotland, nor agent for King Philip, as some have reported, to make him odious; alledging in proof of the first, the good offices he had done for the king of Scotland for many years, while there was hope that he would be a catholic; and proving the second by the testimony of the Patriarch Gaetano Nunzio at Madrid, (who has also written effectually to the Pope to this purpose) that he (Parsons) hath always persuaded the King and his council, that it will not stand well for his Majesty to pretend to the crown of England for himself, and that he hath obtained a firm promise from the king, that he will not aim at it; and about this point the Nunzio hath seen the papers, and been privy to whatever he hath, from time to time, treated and spoken.

5. The conclusion with his Holiness is to be,

that to avoid contentions and oppositions after her Majesty, it would be best, if such a person could be thought of by his Holiness and the King of Spain, as would be fit, and stand well both for his Holiness and his catholic Majesty, and for the English and Scotch catholics, and the Kings of France and Denmark, and all the rest; but who this person is to be, he means to leave it to the thoughts and reflexions of the Pope himself; though, he says, "in my opinion no agreement would be more beneficial, probable or easy, than in the person of the Infanta. In this business I mean to proceed very softly and coolly, and am willing to conform to the opinion of others. If you and other friends have thought of any thing different and of the way of effecting it, I beg you to write it to me. We must not however, in such a business, so much regard our own inclinations and wishes, as the three conditions specified above, the general utility, the probability and the possibility of the designed persons' gaining possession of the crown, and afterwards of defending, maintaining and settling it. I end by recommending secrecy upon these matters, which you perceive, is necessary." R. P.

From Genua March 15. 1597.

N^o. IX. (miscalled VI. in p. 151.)

*Extract of a letter from F. PARSONS to
Lord WILLIAM DOUGLAS, Earl of
Angus. Dated Jan. 24. 1600.*

THe Earl of Angus in a letter to Mr. George Elphinston had complained of Parsons' disaffection to the King of Scotland, and of the partiality, which appeared in the book of *the Succession*. The letter being communicated to Parsons by Mr. Myrton, he wrote to the Earl as follows.

..... To the first, the summe of my answer is, that if works and not words be pondered, (which have the truest weights of affection or disaffection) I see not, by what reason any indifferent man, that followeth not passion, can call in question my affection towards his Majestie of Scotland; seeing that my cares, endeavours, labours and dangers passed for him, and effects also issuing thereof to his commodity, have bin more than of many others perhaps put together. And albeit nether time nor other circumstances do give place now to utter all unto your Lordship, nor if time did serve, would I willingly treat thereof, having done all (I trust) for God and for his honour, without temporal respects, as he best knoweth; yet it is well known, that

Y y

from my first employment by my superiors for helping and setting forward, what lay in me, the catholic cause, which was in the year 1580, my principal endeavours were, next after God and the defence of his truth and catholick religion, for the particular good also, safety and advancement of his Majestie of Scotland, who was then young and in the handes of them, that bought and sold him, lost and gained him, tost and tumbled him up and down, with such indignity and peril, (I mean that most turbulent government of ministers and their followers,) as all the christian world took compassion of it. And the same affection also joyned with love and hope was so potent in some of us, as it forced us to leave our own quiet and take in hand dangerous journeys to most partes and princes of christendome, which your Lordship hath heard of, and which our enemies and emulators have objected to us since, as matters of state and alienate from our vocation; in which thing I would not much stand nor deny, (for the little lyking I have or ever had to deale therein) if any other state had bin sought thereby, than only the state of Christs ancient and holy religion, and the preservation of a young orphan prince, fatherless by cruel murder of him that begatt him, before he could know him, and motherless by the barbarous imprisonment of her that bare him, before she could enjoy him. Which two considerations, together with the excellent hope that then was conceived of his

toward youth, were so strong with myself, as I thought no peril toil or labour over great to be attempted for some effectual remedye; and with all pious and catholic princes, to whome I proposed the same, were so effectual, as none ever shewed unwillingnesse to concurre to the redresse, so farre as they were able. (Here he specifies his services to the king and then proceeds.) Finally my good Lord, my disaffection to his Majestie has been never other than this, (and this upon my conscience calling our saviour Jesus to witnesse) first, to see him a catholic prince, according as all his noble progenitors have bin, and then to see him the most potent prince in christendome, whereof there was no small hope at that tyme; and now at this day no man living would be more glad to see him have that, which he most desireth, if I were sure of the former point, that was the first and chiefeest motive to all my actions, to witt, that he were a trew catholike; whereof having far lesse hope and probability at this tyme than I had in those daies; your Lordship may not marvel or think much, that we English catholykes, that have suffered so much already for our religion, are not soe forward to follow his Majestie to our own destruction, when he faileth us in this first and principal hope, of trew religion, whereon all the rest with us dependeth: nor is this to be interpreted disaffection to his Majestie, but rather obligation to God and to our consciences, and dutyful affection also

to his Majesties both temporal and eternal good, if it be well considered : and so much of this point.

For the second point, touching the book of *Succession*, as I cannot sett downe to your Lordship at this tyme who was the trew author thereof (if any one were) so can I assure you upon my knowledge, that before it was printed, it passed through the handes and view of the wyfest and graveest English catholikes living then in banishment, and men as tenderly affected to his Majestie of Scotland and as deare to his mother, as any of our nation whatsoever, as their works did well declare; whereof two are now dead, and therefore I may name them, our late Cardinal in Rome, and Sir Francis Englefield in Spaine : others are yet alive, and it is not perhaps convenient to mention them.

The motives to make that booke are understood by the booke itself to have bin two; the first to make it known what great and precise obligation there is in every christian man to respect religion in the prince, that is to enter over christian people; whose first clause and condition in advancing princes over them hath bin and is for many ages, that he be a catholyke, and do subject himself in matters of religion to the universal church of Christ for his government; and this is handled and proved most evidently and largely in the first book of the two.

The second motive was, for that a law being

made in England, that no man under pain of treason, should talke or reason of the next successor to the crowne, so great an ignorance grew thereby into the people's heades and heartes, of that thing which most of all (next after God) imported them to know, and which one day (and God knoweth how soone) must be tryed by the uttermost adventure of goods, life, and soule, as it seemed most needful to prevent in part so great a mischief, and to let them see or heare at least, what and how manie there were, that did or might pretende for the same, to the end that having the instruction of the former booke before them, they might thinke at least with themselves what they were to doe in so weighty a case, when the time should come.

And in all this I doe not see what injurie or prejudice is done to his Majestie of Scotland. For if he be a catholyke, or wil be, and shew it by effects, as all his ancestors have done, there is nothing said against him, but much rather for him, especially in the first booke. If he be no catholyke; yet his whole tytle is there sett downe in the first place, with all privileges of the same, as alsoe the pretences of diverse others protestant princes, without diminution or other disadvantage, except such as the only want of being a catholyke bringeth with it to catholyke people; which want lying only in his Majestie to remedy, and not in others or in the writer of these bookes, (who determineth nothing but leaveth all indifferent and

doubteful to the readers judgment) I find noe reason, why his labour should be mislyked by any pious and equal judge, that is not carryed away with partiality, in respect either of religion or faction. And if any thing doe seeme to be urged more in the booke for the favour of the King of Spaines daughter, or of any other catholyke prince, your honour must consider, that the wryter was a catholyke, and would gladly advance the cause of one of his own religion, so far as by right and equity he might, religion being the first trew grounde of all right to christian kingdoms : and consequently, so long as the author of that booke doth not by any false allegations in the catholike pretenders behalfe, sett his tytle forward, nor depresse the other by concealing any proof to be alledged in their behalfe, it seemeth to me, that no man in right can complain or taxe him of partiality.

And with this my good Lord I will ende, craving pardon of your honour for this repetition of my former letter : but I have done it upon intelligence from Scotland, that it was not arrived; and for the great desire I have to give your Lordship satisfaction in soe weighty a point, wherein it seemed that your Lordship had misconceaved of me, and of my doings and meaning about the same..... If I thought there were any trew hope in the point, that most importeth both his majestie and us, I mean of religion, no man would more readily spend his life for him than myself; but I

cannot act upon faction or flattery or worldly respects against my judgment and conscience, seeing that I neither hope nor fear (I thank God) what any mortal prince can give or take from me in this life, without my faulte; and in this government of our country I am so far off from all passion one way or other, as I am indifferent to any man lyving, that hath or shall have ryght thereto, of what place or people soever he be, so that he be a catholyke; for other worldly pretensions I have none unto him, nor ever (I trust) shall have. But if he be no catholyke; as it belongeth not to my vocation to stryve against him, so I must confesse, that soe long as he is foe, nothing under heaven can move my heart and will to favour his pretensions; by which I am certaine, that if he speede, he is to ruine both himself and infinite others.

This is my sence and meaning, and whosoever taketh me otherwise than thus, mistaketh me..... The happiest day that ever could shine to me in this life, were to see both our realmes united together under one catholyke governor and prince of our own blood: but if our synnes deserve not that felicity, any misery is lesse than the misery of heresy, from which I beseech almighty God to deliver both you and us: and soe to his holy protection I commit your honour from Rome at the eginning of this new year. Again I bid your honour most humbly adieu this 24. Jan. 1600. R. P.

N^o. X.

*Discordiarum in Anglicano Clero Status
Eminentissimo & Reverendissimo Domino
D. FRANCISCO S. R. E. Cardinali
BARBERINO, brevi narratione exhi-
bitus à PETRO HOBURGO, Apostolico
in Anglia Missionario.*

Anno 1661. 13 Novembris.

1. **Q**uem & Apostolicæ benignitatis à Romano Pontifice toties ad nos usque derivatæ paratissimum administrum, Eminentissime & Reverendissime Domine, & Anglicani gregis jam diu pastore orbati consolatorem, patronum, & protectorem sane pientissimum hactenus experti sumus, eundem te modo intestinis quasiata diffidiis, velut in præcipua membra sua sæviente diuturno morbo, etiam medicum implorat Anglicana Ecclesia. Neque enim expeditior nobis, quam per te, aditus ad Christi Vicarium esse potest, *cujus ad Apostolicam sedem*, si Theodoretì ad Leonem primum verbis etiam nobis ad Alexandrum Septimum confugientibus uti licet, *nos, qui abjecti sumus, & pusilli currimus*, ut Ecclesiæ nostræ ulceribus medicinam ab illo, & secundum illum, abs te accipiamus. Cæterum quando, nisi detectis vulneribus, patefactisque morbi causis, accessibus, incrementis, frustra quæritur

quæritur medicina ; patieris tibi hæc narratione simplici, mali, quo jam annos multos conflictatum est Anglicani Cleri corpus, recurrentes semper, novarum dissensionum accessione, quasi animorum febris paroxismos omnes sub uno aspectu subjici.

2. Anno salutis circiter 1642 Anglicani Cleri diu florentis, & vel inter persecutionis æstum arque adversorum nubila, serena luce ab animarum tranquillitate, & charitatis cum Divinæ, tum mutuæ radiis perfruendis, felicitatem summam interturbare cæpit, superfeminatis in agro Domini novitatum zizaniis, inimicus homo. Siquidem præcipuis Cleri sacerdotibus paucorum ante id tempus annorum spatio mortuis, inter quos eminebant DD. Kellifonus, Stratfordus, Benettus, Collingtonius, Lovellus, Schellus, Broughtonus, Muskettus, Troloppus, Rogerius, singulari prudentia omnes, nonnulli etiam Sacræ Theologiæ magisteriis, editisque scriptorum monumentis nobiles, Dominus Thomas Vitus, sive Albius (vulgo Blaclous), quam aliquandiu, in pontificio Clericorum Anglorum seminario, Theologiam Duaci professus fuerat, quâ privatim, quâ publicè adortus est novis commentis, ut plerique censebant, exoticisque sententiis adulterare. Favere illico magistri placitis, eaque moderatius primo, mox intemperantius extollere sacerdotes aliqui, quos ille auditores ante habuerat, quibus adjunxerunt sese etiam alii ejusdem familiares. Offenderat jam ante cùm Reverendissimum Chalcedonensem Episcopum, tum Kellifonum, Stratfordum, Lovellum, Muskettum, Leybornum,

infignes de Clero Theologos Albii obstinatio, cum anno Christi circiter 1633 ab iisdem rogatus cujusdam Libelli novitates multas, cum Laicorum complurium totiusque Cleri scandalo, complectentis approbationem à se inconsideratè factam revocare renuit.

3. Hæc præsentium in Clero simultatum origo fuit, & ex occasione porro absentiae Reverendissimi Chalcedonensis, qui multis pro grege periculis defunctus proscriptusque edicto publico hinc in Galliam Parisiis mansurus se receperat, Dominus Thomas Albius nactus Capituli, quod uterque Chalcedonensis quoquo modo hic instituerat, Decanum nonnullosque Cleri primarios sibi obsecundantes, ad profeminanda latius sua dogmata animum adjecit. Quamobrem operi Philosophico, quod sub idem tempus Domini Kenelmi Digbæi Equitis Aurati nomine prodiit, inædificatam à se Peripateticæ primum, deinde etiam Theologiæ formam quandam diu ante meditatam, ab usitatâ Catholicarum scholarum Theologiâ plane abhorrentem vulgare instituit. Quoniam vero vigilantissimum Episcopum, qua pollebat in Anglicanam Ecclesiam potestate; prævidebat his inceptis obstiturum, quippe qui jam tum dictitabat, duo se in Albio animadvertere hæreticorum propria, novitatem & singularitatem; visum est illi Anglicani Capituli auctoritatem, quæ se satis fulciendum arbitrabatur, amplificare pro re natâ, urgereque; & quia periculum erat, ne nimio nisu protrusa hæc machina dissiliret, ejusdem Capituli quamprimum maturandam ab Apof-

tolicâ sede confirmationem censuerant eorum, qui Albio adhærescebant, Capitularium præcipui.

4. Romam igitur cum Serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ postulatis ad Innocentium Decimum profecturo Domino Kenelmo Digbæo, habitâ prius coram Reverendissimo Chalcedonensi in ejus conclavi super eâ re consultatione, in quâ interfuerunt RR. DD. Fittonus, tunc recens Capituli Decanus, Cliffordus, Holdenus, Blaclous, Leybornus, & Carreus, frustra reclamantibus Reverendissimo Episcopo & Domino Leyborno, quod repulsæ periculum præsentirent, suffragiorum numero factum est, ut per Digbæum Reginæ oratorem enixe peteretur Anglicani Capituli auctoritate Pontificis Maximi confirmatio. Verum Digbæus, re infecta, Parisios reversus, Reginæ, quæ Sangermani per id tempus morabatur, declarationem Italicam scripto exhibuit, quâ inter alia legationis suæ postulata, de Capituli etiam confirmatione à Pontifice sibi denegatâ questus est.

5. Anno deinde circiter 1648 cum Dominum Marcum Harringtonum, virum Albio addictissimum Vicarium Episcopi Generalem in Angliâ constitui nonnulli expeterent, recusavit plane Reverendissimus Episcopus, atque id officium destinavit Domino Georgio Leyborno integerrimæ erga se fidei sacerdoti, quamvis repugnanti, quod continuas sibi molestias prospiciebat ab Albii aëclis in Capitulo præpotentibus creatum iri. Attamen Reverendissimo Chalcedonensi asserenti, se hoc delectu periculosarum novitatum contagioni occurrere, tandem ob-

sequutus Dominus Leybornus, insciis prorsus nec opinantibus DD. Fittono, Holdeno, Albio, Carreo, Generalis Vicarius jam constitutus huc ex Gallia trajecit. Id postquam rescierunt illi quatuor, hæere primum attoniti, mox majoris concordiae specie instare urgereque, ut Reverendissimus Episcopus alterum etiam cum Domino Leyborno Vicarium Generalem D. Marcum Harringtonum nominaret. Additis denique nobilium quorundam utriusque sexus Laicorum precibus obsecrationibusque, grandævum faciliq̃ ingenio antistitem sic oppugnâvere, ut tandem succubuerit. Præposterum hoc consilium fuisse brevi eventus docuit. Dum enim Domino Marco Harringtono pro Albio ejusque opinionibus jam apertè propugnanti adhærescerent, cum Capitularum plerisque, complures ex clero sacerdotes, cæteri omnes iique majore numero priscâ integritate presbyteri D. Leybornum secuti, gliscentibus indies novitatibus sese opponerent, discissus est miserabiliter in partes universus Clerus.

6. Eodem anno mense Augusto, convenerunt undique Londinum Capitulares, præsentē in eo Capitulo præsentēque tanquam Decano Domino Petro Fittono, ubi, propterea quod duos à Reverendissimo Chalcedonensi Canonicos paulo ante creatos, nulla Reverendissimi literarum tantundem significantium, quas Dominus Leybornus proferebat, ratione habitâ, Decanus excludebat, quodque præstito a capitularium singulis de arcano servando juramento, ne quid cuiquam aperire liceret, ipsi etiam Episcopo in suo Capitulo transactorum no-

titiam denegandam multi volebant, ad perturbationem confusionemque summam res spectare prudentioribus videbatur. Augebat suspicionem constitutionum quarundam ab illo capitulo observandarum libellus cum a Fittono, tum præsertim à Domino Henrico Holdenò Sac. Theologiæ Doctore eodemque Albii quondam discipulo & modo acri defensore compositus, ubi inter alia Episcopi jus potestatemque manifeste infringentia, cavebatur, ut ab universo Anglicano Clero obedientia Capitulo deinceps præstaretur. Vicit tamen D. Leyborni erga Reverendissimum Episcopum constantissima fides, effecitque ut majori suffragiorum numero, non modo quæ inibi transigerentur, omnia rescindi Episcopo potestas integra maneret, verum etiam obedientiam à Clero nullam exigere Capitulo liceret, quippe quem, ut ante, ab unius Episcopi nutu pendere æquum esset. Et quidem, quantopere sibi displicerent Fittoni Holdenique constitutiones, scriptis ad D. Leybornum literis testatus est ipse Reverendissimus Chalcedonensis, præcepitque iisdem literis, ut Leybornus suo nomine vetaret plane Capitulo præstari, quam exigebant ab universo Clero, obedientiam. Perstitere nihilominus in eadem urgenda Capitulares, ut necesse habuerit Reverendissimus Episcopus interminari, se facultatibus eos, nisi ab incepto desisterent, privaturum. Asserverunt denique ex illo conventu non pauci, Parlamentarium sibi id Capitulum visum esse, quod auctoritate in nos omni Episcopum, non aliter ac nostratum Parlamentum Regem ipsum exturbare molirentur.

7. Inter hæc ipsum Capituli Decanum D. Petrum Fittonum, stimulante conscientia, cupido incessit, quæ palam fovere credebatur, dissidia, si quo id pacto fieri posset, restringendi. Sed volventi secum versantique animo optimi operis difficultates omnes, periculosæ res aleæ plena videbatur. Animadvertebat nimirum parum se profecturum sine præcipuorum quorundam Capitularium operâ, quos tamen subinde strictim pertentatos abhorrere illico sensit à salutaribus consiliis, quibus ipse jam occulte cesserat, eratque metrendum, ne, quo apertius rem urgeret, eo illi obstarent vehementius. Ergo incertus jam animi fluctuansque, occasione Jubilæi proxime instantis in Italiam proficisci statuit, exorsurus ipse cum Deo à suæ expiatione conscientia, quam in fratres pacem transfundi optabat. Quæ quidem omnia, dum Romam petens Senis aliquamdiu subsisteret, significavit ipse Dominus Fittonus viro cuidam illustri per literas indidem anno Christi 1650 21 Februarii datas, quæ penes nos jam extant.

8. Cæterum absente licet atque inscio Episcopo & Decano jam procul degente, convocati à Domino Marco Harringtono Vicario Generali, qui se etiam pro subdecano gerebat, convenère rursus Londini Capitulares decimo Julii anno 1653, accitis etiam sacerdotibus non paucis ex provinciis. Extant adhuc apud Dominum Leybornum Reverendissimi Chalcedonensis literæ, adhibito, quod à Domino Lancastrio Capituli Theologo acceperat, Domini Pagii integerrimi Archidiaconi testimonio querentis, *duo potissimum spectasse illum Conventum, nempe ut*

Domini Blacloi, sive Albii dogmata extollerent, & Episcopi in se auctoritatem everterent, quam Dominus Carræus, inquit, mihi nuper in faciem dixit imaginariam esse; hoc autem, sicut pro certo habeo, à semetipso tantum non dixit. Hæc ex ipsius Reverendissimi Chaledonensis literis: cujus porro mandato mox dissolutus est ille Capituli conventus, notatusque singulariter ingrati animi & seditionis nomine Harringtonus primis his ejusdem mandati verbis: Quoniam, ut a fide dignis accepimus, tu Marce Vicarie mi Generalis, nuper ingrate & seditiose convocasti quosdam Presbyteros sæculares &c.; quin etiam eidem Harringtono una cum DD. Guilielmo Harrisono, Andrea Knightlæo, Jacobo Waltono, Thoma Ashtono, Petro Curtisio Capitularium præcipuis per litteras Kal. Augusti tanquam de injuria gravissimè expostulantibus rescripsit extemplo Reverendissimus Episcopus, acerrimeque eos de nonnullis increpans, hæc de usurpato ab Harringtono subdecanatu addidit: Dominum Harringtonum Capituli vestri dicitis subdecanum: quod neque ego in illum officium, neque alius quisquam auctoritate à me munitus unquam contulit. Hoc enimvero quid aliud est, quam in Episcopi potestatem involare, & spirituales auctoritatem nemine tribuente sibi arrogare, quod sane, quale peccatum sit, non vos latet. Ad hæc aliis litteris 11 Octobris ejusdem anni ad quinque jam nominatorum sacerdotum datis, severissime præcepit, uti Harringtonus ab usurpando illo subdecani munere desisteret, his verbis: Quod vero ad Domini Harringtoni subde-

canatum attinet, aio me nunquam ejusmodi officium instituisse, neque voluisse illum creare subdecanum, tametsi D. Fittonus id me rogarit, neque certo unquam scivisse illum id officii usurpasse, priusquam primas vestras litteras legi. Quam ob rem præcipio ut ab illo munere desistat, donec mihi ostenderit, tam D. Fittonum potestatem habuisse illum creandi subdecanum, quam talem legitime creavisse. Perstitit tamen Harringtonus in eodem officio refractarius ad extremum vitæ diem, quem absque postremis Ecclesiæ Sacramentis, & sine Albii dogmatum, quæ penitus imbiberat, retractatione ulla, cum multorum etiam Laicorum scandalo, obiit mense Julio anno Christi 1657.

9. Excesserat jam è vivis Lutetiæ Parisiorum Reverendissimus Chalcedonensis, & aliquanto post etiam Florentiæ, quo se Româ durantium adhuc in Anglicano Clero dissensionum pertæsus jamdudum receperat, mortuus est D. Petrus Fittonus, qui quotquot penes se tum habebat editos à D. Albio libros, Inquisitoribus sacris tradi moribundus jussit, addens *vel damnatos jam esse, vel aliquando damnandos eos libros.*

10. Successit Fittono Capitulatum suffragiis Dominus Odoardus Daniel sac. Theologiæ Doctor, qui etiam ipse, priusquam Decanus fieret, aversatus Albii Holdenique dogmata, subscripto una cum D. Leyborno communi chirographo, missisque Duaco litteris ad Capitulares aliosque sacerdotes in Londinensem illum conventum anni 1653 congregatos, vehementer suavit, ut eorundem solenni de-
testatione

testatione inuictam Clero labem abstergerent, sed D. Daniele, quod aliis jam suaferat auctoritate sua perficere meditantem præmatura mors Clero eripuit mense Septembris anno Domini 1657.

II. Prodierant jam in lucem Domini Thomæ Albii complura opuscula Theologica; quæ pro diverso partium studio sensuque non modo in Clero, verum in ipsis quoque Laicis varios quotidie excitabant animorum motus. In his Jansenianæ hæreseos notabantur potissimum hæc dogmata, nimirum *gratiam sufficientem prorsus imaginariam esse, tollereque vim liberi arbitrii: Christum neque meritum esse, quæ non sunt data, neque mortuum esse pro personâ non salvata: Gratiam naturæ corruptæ esse semper efficacem, neque universaliter, sed minori tantum hominum portioni communicatam esse.* Immo verò in libello, quem inscripsit *Appendiculam ad sonum buccinæ* ipsum Cornelium Jansenium ejusque propositiones quinque ab Apostolicâ sede damnatas nominatim ab Albio asseri, vindicarique palam jam erat. Ad hæc offensionem erat quod docuit, *eadem necessitate in Deo existere determinationem de futuritione mundi atque generationem filii: itidem per Spiritum Sanctum, cum dicitur Christus conceptus de Spiritu Sancto, intelligi Deum Patrem: episcopum ratione ordinis non esse Superiorem presbytero, cum presbyteri possint concurrere ad ordinationem Episcopi: angelos scire futura contingentia, atque secreta cordium atque adeò nihileis esse incertum: animas in Purgatorio detentas cruciari usque ad extremum judicii diem: in damnatis*

nullas fore sensitivas pœnas : opinionem tenentem Papam esse infallibilem , esse hæreticam , archi-hæreticam , & matrem matricemque spurcissimorum errorum : judicem controversiarum , cujus munus sit , de fide quid sit , quid non , discernere , nullum esse , neque esse posse.

12. Hæc aliaque id genus dogmata cum mordicus tuerentur Albii afflæ , commota tandem orthodoxorum , cum ex Clero , tum Religiosorum Ordinibus Theologorum piis querelis Apostolica sedes exorsa est horum librorum , ne erroribus Christi fideles inficere possent , proscriptionem à decreto Eminentissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium Inquisitorum Generalium , quo 14 Maii 1655 ejusdem Albii *Sonum buccinæ* , sive tres tractatus de virtutibus fidei & Theologiæ , &c. omnino prohibuit. Fremere primum , ac tumultuari Albius ; deinde percussus hoc decreto libellum alio scripto , quod *Tabulas Suffragales* nuncupavit , defendere , tum in præfixâ iisdem Tabulis ad Alexandrum VII nunc Pontificem opt. max. epistola Eminentissimos Cardinales *infelices fratres atque inclinatos judices* dicere. Denique decretum ipsum , ut *confusum atque ut umbram sine corpore , levi corde credentibus terriculamentum , sed interrogantibus nihil sonans* aperte criminari. Quocirca alio decreto per eosdem Eminentissimos Cardinales tum *Suffragales* has tabulas , tum iis adnexam *Tesseræ* evulgationem inhibuit damnavitque Apostolica sedes 7^o. Septembris anno Christi 1657. Neque tamen vel sic quievit Albius , qui hæc etiam quamvis damnata scripta eadem pervicacia

vindicare perstitit in libello, quem *Monumetham excantatum* inscripsit adversus D. Robertum Pughium, de quo mox agemus.

13. Auctoritatem interea Albii scriptis fidemque apud Catholicos Anglos abrogabant hæc Eminentissimorum sancti officii Cardinalium decreta, quæ optimi cujusque conscientiam percellebant, & simul cæterorum viri, librorum detestationem indies pariebant, simul ab auctore ipso graviorum omnium animos abalienabant. Collabascentem igitur amici existimationem ut aliquo modo fulciret D. Henricus Holdenus, scripta Parisiis eodem anno 19 Novembris editaque epistola, horum decretorum auctoritatem vimque Catholicos Angliæ incolas obligandi omnem elusit. Quamobrem Capitularium plerique Albio adhærescentes cum Holdenii epistola animati tum etiam repulsa, quam eorum agens D. Laurentius Plattus Romæ tulerat, qui ne Eminentissimæ quidem vestræ literis, nedum Apostolico Brevi obtento, quo Capitulum hoc à SSmo. D. nostro vel probaretur, vel certe agnosceretur, huc redierat, incensi, cæperunt non modo alièni averfque à Romanâ Curiâ animi indicia prodere, crebrioresque etiam per quosdam Laicos sibi addictos querimonias diſteriaque in sedem ipsam Apostolicam effundere, sed Episcopalem quoque, quam jamdudum, quasi, vacante hic sede, novo Capitulo, quamvis ab Apostolica sede necdum instituto confirmatoque, debitam usurpaverant jurisdictionem, etiam in spiritualibus obstinatiùs, quam hactenus, exercere. Seditionem augebant per hoc tempus

sparsæ in vulgus schedulæ libellique vernaculo idio-
 mate cum ab Albio ipso, tum ab ejus sectatoribus
 etiam Laicis cum multorum maxime infirmorum
 scandalo publicati, quibus præter alia Albii pro-
 nunciata crebrò inculcabatur, animas, quotquot
 in Purgatorio sunt, omnes ad extremum judicii
 diem ibidem permansturas, deridebanturque piorum
 preces atque indulgentiæ pro earundem ante illum
 diem liberatione adhibere solitæ. Hæc cum im-
 pendentis magnæ Cleri parti ab Apostolicâ sede
 defectionis periculo proxima viderentur, visum est
 nonnullis integritatis & prudentiæ laude præstan-
 tibus sacerdotibus rogare D. Robertum Pughium
 ex eodem Clero Theologum, Juris Canonici Doc-
 torem, & sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ Protonotarium,
 ut per Epistolam cum orthodoxis fratribus commu-
 nicandam, quo res Cleri loco jam esset, remotiores
 Londino Presbyteros edoceret pariter, atque in
 officio erga sanctam sedem corroboraret. Conscripsit
 igitur D. Pughius libellum, quem inscripsit *Epis-
 tolam de Anglicani Cleri retinenda in Apostolicam
 sedem observantiâ ejusque* vix eum numerum, &
 quidem latine typis edi permisit, qui soli Clero
 sufficeret, ne accipiendum magis quam dandum
 inde scandalum latius, quam par esset, permana-
 ret: siquidem in hoc libello tum Holdenii Epistolam
 tanquam in Eminentissimorum Congregationis sancti
 Officii Cardinalium decreta injuriosam, seditio-
 samque, tum Capitularem Cleri administrationem
 tanquam à pauculis Albio addictis Sacerdotibus
 sine Pontificis Maximi auctoritate arreptam liberius
 perstringendam duxit.

14. Vulgata jam Pughii Epistola, diversi animorum motus, ut cuique studia partium, excitati. Pars miffitando in auctorem fremere, erantque il potissimum, qui Capitulares Albiumque mordicus amplexi, debitam sacris decretis obedientiam ex occulto eludebant. Pars apertius in illum excandescere, minarique ultionem subitam: erant hi vel Capitularium ipforum primarii, vel qui Albi emissarii atque arcanorum participes molestissime ferebant machinationes suas, quæque ipsos pungerent, permulta reliquo Clero jam patefcere. Alii denique, quibus sana adhuc abhorrensque ab omni novitatis umbra mens & sincera erga Apostolicam sedem veneratio erat, lætari magnopere gratularique de majore Cleri parte hoc libello ab omni sive seditionis, sive erroris suspicione vindicata.

15. Nihil segnius discussa sub hæc tempora à nonnullis agitataque est, editis utrimque libris, Albi opinio *De medio animarum statu*, propugnantque pro communi Ecclesiæ praxi Benedictini, Franciscani, tandemque Societatis Jesu Theologi. Quinetiam Academia Duacena propositiones viginti duas ex libris *Institutionum sacrarum* ejusdem Albi excerptas solenni censura 3 Novembris anno 1660 ut *respective hæreticas, erroneas, periculosas, temerarias, scandalosas, & piarum aurium offensivas* damnavit. Trajecerat huc Duaco tribus ante editam hanc censuram mensibus Dominus Georgius Leybornus S. Theologiæ Doctor sæpius à me memoratus, idemque modo Duaceni, hoc est Pontificii præcipuique Clericorum nostratium Seminarii Præ-

ses, institeratque etiam atque etiam hic præsens, ut Dominus Onuphrius Eliseus Decanus, & Capitularium præcipui, quod in septentrionalibus Angliæ partibus viginti de Clero Sacerdotes iidemque Anglo-Duaceni Collegii quondam alumni, inter quos Archidiaconi duo, jam fecerant, quodque complures tota Anglia sparsi facere parabant, Albii dogmatum libellorumque, præsertim quos Congregationes sacræ jam proscripserant, detestationi suæ sigillatim nomina, amoliendæ à Clero infamiæ causa, subscriberent: hoc uno, compositis fratrum diffidiis, sublatisque scandalis, Deo gratos rectosque, demum in Curia Pastorem à Dei Vicario, ac Præsulem assequuturos. Sed illis eadem, quâ hactenus, vecordiâ id abnuentibus, Leybornus irritò conatu Duacum reversus est.

16. Dominum Onuphrium Eliseum Sac. Theologiæ Doctorem, Daniele mortuo, Capitulares jampridem, quippe ab anno salutis 1657, sibi Decanum elegerant in conventu quodam Londini habito eodem anno 23 Novembris, unde qui aliquoties interfuit Duaco missus Dominus Thomas Powellus S. Theologiæ Professor ad D. Leybornum inter alia 28 ejusdem mensis hæc scripsit. *Auxit valde suspicionem meam Capitulares in præsentì suo regimine contentos acquiescere neque Episcopum velle, quod animadverti, illos adeo præfractè recusare, subscriptionibus suis detestari novitates omnes & scandalosas opiniones Domini Albii, alias Blacloi.* Quemadmodum vero Dominus Georgius Cathericius Archidiaconus Eboracensis diversis literis ante significaverat se nihil in

posterum cum capitularibus commune velle, quippe qui Clero tum domi, tum apud exteros dedecori essent, quique crederentur schismatici, & schismatico more, non modo cum Cleri, sed ipsius etiam nationis nostræ probro agerent; ita in jam dicto conventu Dominus Joannes Yongus de Capitularibus Albiique factione haud aberrantem à Domini Cathericii cujus tunc vicem obtinebat, sensu sententiam suam testificatus est. Cunctantem diu tergiversantemque Dominum Eliseum perpulerunt tandem Capitulares, ut electioni suæ nono post mense consentiret. Itaque facili ingenio vir adductus tandem est non modo, ut, quod longe post præfinitum à sacris Canonibus ejusmodi electioni tempus, Decani munus susceperat, ad hunc diem nulla hætenus obtenta juxta dictos canones confirmatione exequeretur, verum etiam jurisdictione ordinaria jam tum à Capitulo arrogata facultates dispensationesque concedendi, exigendique à cæteris Clericis obedientiæ juramentum sive per se, sive per vicarios generales, suo Capitulique nomine uteretur.

17. Palantis interea jam diu sine Pastore Anglicani gregis misertus aliquando summus optimusque Ecclesiæ pastor D. Francisco Gagio S. Theologiæ Doctori Capitularium negotia in urbe procuranti Episcopum concessit, qui Ecclesiam nostram tanquam vicarius Apostolicus administraret. Verum Decano Capitulique hujus primoribus adeo non arrisit hæc benignissimi Pontificis gratia, ut eandem illico per Gagium acriter de accepta increpitum detrectarint. Enimvero, qui hæc rescierunt plerique in Capitu-

lares invehî, quasi Episcopi à SSmo. Domino impetrandi simulatione, quem sibi interim tanquam Albio plus æquo addictis denegandum sperarent, quo diutius ipsi Clero imperitarent, Episcopali in nos administrationi revera viam omnem præclusissent.

18. Albîus certe in libello, quem adversus Pughii epistolam edidit, ausus est de hac Pontificis Opt. Max. concessione, tanquam de *indignissimâ repulsâ* conqueri, indeque occasionem sumere non solum incessendi Pughium conviciis, sed ob proscriptas Romæ Jansenistarum Gallorum *duo de viginti ad Provinciam Epistolas* in ipsam etiam Apostolicam sedem, quasi scelerum & curiis civilibus & convictui humano intolerandorum fautricem & protectricem debacchandi. Publicatæ subinde in Hollandia *Stateræ morum sive Institutionibus Ethicis* epistolam præfixit ad illustrissimos Belgii Episcopos, in qua eosdem tanquam Petri successoribus pares ab Apostolicæ sedis obedientia avertit, tum Societatem Jesu tanquam *excetram & Ecclesiæ ruinam meditantem exercentemque*, tum Eminentissimum Cardinalem Pallavicinum tanquam pro *Historiæ profanæ scriptæ præmio purpurâ & præfecturâ tantum non Ecclesiæ donatum* petulantissime arrodit, approbatque rursus Jansenistarum jam pridem damnatas ad Provinciam epistolas: ut minime mirum sit Illustrissimum Dominum Abbatem Montisregalis Apostolicum in Belgio Internuncium in literis 22 Octobris superiore anno ad D. Leybornum scriptis hoc Albii opus *perniciosum, quodque pessima habeat præsertim in dedicatoria ad Prælatos Belgii, auctoremque ipsum*
nequam

nequam & indurati cordis hominem dixisse. Horrendum profecto inter alia visum plerisque est, quod in eadem Statera morum docet, eos nimirum, qui tempore persecutionis de nullo fidei articulo dubitant, sed jacturam opum & misérias subire non audent; incontinentes item, dummodo maneat in illis hoc judicium, futura bona esse sola bona, etiamsi morte subitanea præoccupati spatium præparandi se per pœnitentiam non invenerint, tamen salvandos esse.

19. Profligatâ jam licet apud plerosque Albii famâ, nihilo tamen remissiores in eo colendo exagitantisque ejus adversariis facti sunt Capitulares: nam & in contumelioso, quod tam sedulo post hæc disperferunt, anonymi cujusdam Laici in Dominum Pughium vernaculo scripto, nescio quod *tot doctorum excellentiumque Albii operum* elogium inferitur; & in encyclico illo libello, quem adversus Dominum Leybornum mox publicare, subscriptis etiam Domini Elisei Decani præcipuorumque Capitularium nominibus, non sunt veriti, ejusdem Albii *illibata*, ut loquuntur, *vita virtutesque*, & cum *scientia eminens*, tum opera tanquam *Ecclesiæ Dei utilia* celebrantur.

20. Hoc anno mense Maio adversus libellum, quem, contra jam dictam *de retinenda in Apostolicam sedem obedientia* epistolam, ediderat Albius, inscripseratque errore nominis *Monumetham excantatum*, prodiit latine scriptum acre Pughii responsum, cui *excantationis Amuleti* titulum indidit: neque multo post vulgata etiam est Leyborni responsio Anglica ad Capitularium in se libellum encyclicum,

pupugeruntque hæc eo vehementius Capitulares, quo & ab Albio ejusque affeclis in utrumque objecta liberius his libellis retunduntur, & male arrogatæ à Capitulo jurisdictionis *nullitas* fit apertior. Odium insuper Albio ejusque scriptis sub hoc tempus cumulavit ab heterodoxorum Procerum non nemine, in supremis Parlamenti comitiis, palam Catholicis exprobratus perduellis libellus *De obedientiæ & Gubernationis fundamentis* ab Albio homine scilicet Catholico sex abhinc annis pro Cromwelli tyrannide, adversus Serenissimum Regem tunc extorrem publicatus.

21. Quid porro nuperrime Capitulares egerint in conventu suo, hoc anno duobus abhinc mensibus Londini habito, cautum ab ipsis esse aiunt, ne palam fiat. Certum est eos, five postremorum Albii scriptorum, ex iisque ad sese pertinentis infamiæ pudore, seu rei suæ Romæ adversis semper evenibus procuratæ tædio, seu denique auctore Illustrissime Domino D. Abbate Aubigneo Serenissimæ Reginae ex Lusitania propediem expectatæ magno Eleemosynario jam designato, à cujus digna natalibus indole sperare optima liceat, decrevisse (quod quantumvis licet urgentibus hætenus orthodoxis fratribus abnuerant) ut proscriptos certe à sacris Eminentissimorum Cardinalium congregationibus Albii libellos etiam ipsi in posterum rejiciant detestenturque, insuper quicquid in ejusdem Albii libro *De obedientiæ & Gubernationis fundamentis* in sacram Regis nostri majestatem offensionis inest. Quod etiam conceptis verbis deinde præstiterunt

in contumelioso admodum manifesto quodam suo
adversus D. Leybornum novissime publicato.

22. Habes igitur, Eminentissime & Reverendissime
Domine, presentem Anglicani Cleri conditionem
sincere à me, ac sine fuce hic expositam. Vides
corporis ægritudinem omnem ad duo potissimum
mali capita revocatam: quorum alterum serpens
in reliqua membra ex unius contagione errorum
virus, alterum vero à sacerdotibus nonnullis usur-
pata jamdiu in reliquos omnes sub Capituli specie
jurisdictio eo periculosior, quo ab illis inconsidera-
tius ad ipsa sacramentorum mysteria sine superiori
Pastoris auctoritate extenditur. Deus salutaris noster
in vicarii sui consilio, cujus tu pars magna, *atque*
in ipso vertice, ut cum Augustino loquar, *componat*
membrorum omnium sanitatem teque Anglicanæ Ec-
clesiæ protectorem patronumque optimum quam
diutissime servet incolumem. Salopii Idib. Novem-
bris MDCLXI.

Eminentiae vestrae, &c.

Humillimus in Christo Servus
PETRUS HOBURGUS.

N^o. XI.

*Scriptum ab Eximio Domino HENRICO
HOLDENO, S. T. Doctore Sorbonico
exhibitum Parlamento Anglicano anno
Domini 1647 pro regimine Catholico-
rum Angliæ.*

SI placuerit Parlamento libertatem facere, ut
Catholici Romani in regno quietè vivant, placeat
illi pariter à vero Catholico hoc consilium admit-
tere, in sui maiorem & meliorem securitatem.

Primò nullus externus Rex aut status pro eis
intercedat, nec se in componendis Catholicorum
rebus immisceat; sed videant Catholici hanc sibi
à Parlamento libertatem concedi suâ sponte & merâ
erga eos benevolentia.

Secondò iusjurandum hoc impressum & his an-
nexum universaliter ab omnibus Catholicis cujus-
cunque professionis, fiat; & si quis Ecclesiasticus
aut Sæcularis, Laicus, aut Religiosus illud recu-
set, rogetur is, ut è regno se subtrahat, tan-
quam membrum non idoneum Reipublicæ, prout
res in præsentia se habent.

Tertiò habeant Catholici, vel potius obligentur
habere sex vel octo Episcopos plus minus, per quos
gubernetur.

Hi Episcopi erunt (prout omnes alii ordinarii Episcopi sunt) omnium Catholicorum sententia , Apostolorum successores , habentes auctoritatem suam immediate ab ipsomet Christo Jesu , & consequenter independentem ab omni alia auctoritate spirituali quacunque , etiam ipsius Papæ . Nam quamvis omnes Episcopi teneantur agnoscere Papam tanquam caput suum , vel primum Pastorem , ille tamen non potest iis ullum præceptum imponere cujuscunque naturæ , nisi ipsi , & Respublica , in qua degunt , judicent expedire ; & hæc erat olim praxis Catholicorum in Anglia , & nunc est in Gallia , & in omni alio regno & statu catholico .

Omnis Clerus , seu omnes Ecclesiastici , five sint sæculares , five regulares , pendeant ab his Episcopis & renunciare cogantur omni immediatæ dependentiæ ab alio quocunque extra regnum , eoque maximè , quia multi regulares prætendunt se per Papam eximi ab omni ordinariâ potestate & jurisdictione Episcoporum , & immediate subjici Papæ vel Ordinis Generali alienigenæ , & apud exterarum nationes degenti . Quare omnes sacerdotes tam sæculares , quam regulares jurejurando teneantur nullam exercere jurisdictionem , ecclesiasticam functionem , spirituales auctoritatem , nisi ab ipsis Episcopis acceptam & derivatam , & eorundem permissu . Quibus quicunque restiterint , aut prætenderint se immediate pendere ab externo aliquo Prælato aut potestate quacunque , rogetur , ut è regno se subtrahant , tanquam membra non idonea huic Reipublicæ , prout res in præsentia se habent .

Omnes Catholici Laici totius Regni (juxta omnium Catholicorum sententiam) erunt verè, & per Christi institutionem subditi istis Episcopis in omni re spirituali, & consequenter hi Episcopi aliquo modo teneri poterunt respondere pro criminibus à suis subditis commissis (si quæ fuerint) contra statum. Et ne Episcopi hi nimium suam auctoritatem extendant, præsertim in rebus, quæ faciunt ad gubernationem temporalem, ut in testamentorum probationibus, piorum legatorum dispositione, in causis matrimonialibus judicandis &c. facile erit eorum jurisdictionem coercere in similibus, prout expedire videbitur in rerum particularium discussione.

Quia vero Jesuitæ videntur periculosum corpus, & ab omni statu Christiano acatholico habentur maximè factiosi, si vel illi, vel ullus regularis ordo recusaverit impressum hoc, & hisce annexum iurandum facere, vel se subicere Episcopis ut supra, habeantur membra non idonea Reipublicæ, ut nunc se res habent; & ideo rogentur, ut è regno se subtrahant, non religionis causâ, sed suspicionis, quam de ipsis status habere poterit; cui quidem rei reliqui Catholici se minime opponent, prout se non opposuerunt Venetiis, & in aliis Catholicis statibus, multo minus in regno acatholico.

NB. I cannot any where find the form of oath, of which Dr. Holden here speaks. The presumption of this man and his party in attempting to fetter the consciences of their brethren by an

oath; their negotiations with the usurpers of public power; their schismatical plan of church-government, evidently framed to draw the whole power into their own hands; their proposal of the persecuting clause of banishment against those, whose integrity they could not corrupt; all these circumstances betray the ambition of the unprincipled leaders of the Blackloists, they discover the real object, for which they published and apologized for each others false doctrines, and they convey an important lesson to all Bishops and priests, to discourage and check in its early beginnings, whatever has the appearance of an ecclesiastical cabal against established authority.

F I N I S.

By the same Author.

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